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DANIEL BOONE.

[Introductory to the more formal accounts of Daniel Boone, extracts from two letters from William S. Bryan to Prof. G. C. Broadhead are given. The photographs referred to have not been engraved and consequently are not shown. The article now given will be followed by others relating to Boone.—Editor.]

Daniel Boone married Rebecca Bryan, an aunt of Jonathan Bryan, grandfather of the writer, and after coming to Missouri the two families lived on adjoining plantations in the valley of the Femme Osage, in St. Charles county. My brother and I visited both places last summer, and I will enclose with this letter copies of photographs we took on that occasion, which may be of some interest. The old stone house built by Boone and his son, General Nathan Boone, still stands, as represented in the photograph; but every vestige of his first log cabin has disappeared. Visitors are sometimes lured into the belief that a pigsty, in the adjoining lot, is the old cabin; but it is cruel to deceive confiding humanity in that way. Yet it is quite probable that some of the logs in the pig-house may have belonged to the old cabin. The latter stood where I have made a cross on the photograph; and the spring was about as far

beyond it, and in the same direction, as the site of the cabin is from the stone house. I send you also a photograph of the spring, which flows out from under a bluff. It was this spring which induced Boone to locate there. He found it one day while hunting. The little boy looking so intently into the water is my little son, a third grand-nephew of Rebecca Bryan (Boone).

I will send you also a picture of my grandfather's old double log cabin, as it appears now. It was a famous house at the time it was built, and the largest west of St. Charles, until Boone completed his stone mansion. The two houses are about a mile apart, and during the last few years of his life Boone spent as much time at my grandfather's as he did at home. In fact, there was hardly a day that they did not visit back and forth, for a period of twenty years, from 1800 until 1820, when Boone died. It was during this time that my father knew him, as a boy and a growing young man knows his elders. In 1815 my grandmother, who was then a woman of about fifty, shot and killed an Indian in front of the Bryan cabin. The savage was running toward her with uplifted tomahawk, and was about where the tree now grows when she shot him. This tree is an offshoot of an older one that stood on the same spot at the time. She and a negro woman had just killed another Indian in the hall, he having entered, or attempted to enter, by the back door. I enclose a printed slip describing the incident. The two Indians were buried where I have drawn a cross-mark.

The Boones and Bryans were pioneers of Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and being closely related by marriage and intermarriage, they held together in all their migrations. My greatgrandfather and two of his brothers built Bryan's Station, (1) near the present site of Lexington, Ky., where they bought, or "entered," fifteen thousand acres of land, with the intention of establishing a colonial plantation; but their titles were defective, and they lost it all, just as Boone did his. After the loss of the lands, my grandfather removed to Missouri, in 1800, and

purchased a large tract adjoining Boone's, in the Femme Osage valley; and there the two families remained until they ran their course. My greatgrandfather, James Bryan, the old Revolutionary soldier, also came to Missouri, and he and my grandfather and grandmother lie buried on the hill about one hundred and fifty yards above the old log house. In the picture of the old house the little boy is sitting by the spring, which in my father's time had a house over it; and there they kept their butter and milk and honey.

This morning I received a batch of manuscript from my brother, Dr. J. D. Bryan, of Ottawa, Kansas, and I am glad to see that he has found the record of the birth of Daniel Boone. I quote a portion of my brother's manuscript, as follows:

"George Boone, Sr., was born in Columpton, Devonshire, England, in 1662; in 1717 he migrated to America with his wife, Mary, two daughters, and nine sons. They landed at Philadelphia, October 10, 1717, O. S. The Boones were Dissenters, and members of the 'Society of Friends' (Quakers) both in England and America. Soon after Boone's arrival, he purchased a large tract of land on the east side of the Schuylkill river, and had it erected into a township, which he called Exeter. This is a short distance southeast of the present town of Reading, Pa. The records of the old '**Gwynedd Monthly Meeting**' show as follows: '10-31-1717, George Boone, Sr., produced certificate of his good life and conversation, from the Meeting at Columpton, in Great Britain. Was received and read.' Again: 'Squire Boone, son of George, of Philadelphia county, yeoman, married to Sarah, daughter of Edward Morgan, of the same county, at **Gwynedd Meeting House**, 7-13-1720, witnesses, George, Edward and Elizabeth Morgan, George and James Boone, William, John and Daniel Morgan, and 31 others.' Children of Squire and Sarah Boone, '**Exter Monthly Meeting Records**;' Sarah, b. 4-7-1724. Israel, b. 3-9-1726. Samuel, b. 3-20-1728. Jonathan, b. 10-6-1730. Elizabeth, b. 12-15-1732. **Daniel**, b. 8-22-1734. Mary, b. 9-3-1736. George, b. 11-2-1739. Edward, b. 9-9-1740."

As stated above, the foregoing is a copy from the records of the old Gwynedd Meeting House, where the Boones were born, lived and died, and I think it settles the fact satisfactorily that Daniel Boone was born on the 22d day of August, 1734. I am very glad indeed that my brother has found this record, for it settles a question which has long been in dispute. There were two or three other Boone children born after the records ceased.

DANIEL BOONE IN MISSOURI.

The last twenty-five years of the life of Daniel Boone were spent in Missouri, and when he died he was buried there. Scenes connected with his daily life during this period seem to possess an abiding interest for the American people. The Boone farm in the upper part of St. Charles county, and the old stone mansion that stands upon it, are visited every year by numerous pilgrims, who come from distant States, and even from across the sea, to worship at the shrine of the world's greatest pioneer. Each new arrival drinks freely from the spring of sweet water that bubbles up from beneath that great ledge of rock, paints a mental picture of the adjacent scenery of hill and bluff and rolling valley, and carries away with him pleasant memories of the place and its surroundings. Others, less reverent of sentiment, chip off pieces of the stone house, or gather mementoes from the spot where the old cabin stood; while some fondly cherish photographs of the modern pigsty, which they are made to believe contains some of the logs that entered into the first Boone house west of the Mississippi. The present owner of the place, a thrifty American of German ancestry, is disposed to let all his visitors have their own way, and very rarely deceives any of them regarding the pig house. And why should he spoil a harmless sentiment? Every vestige of the old cabin has long since disappeared, except a few faint traces of the foundation where it stood.

The spring was the inducement which led Boone to build his cabin there. Those old pioneers valued a spring more

than they did the land surrounding it; for it not only supplied them with water so cold as to require no ice, but it was sure to be a general meeting-place for deer and other game. Many a buffalo, coming to slake his thirst at this spring, yielded up his life a victim to the unerring aim of the old pioneer. Boone could sit in the door of his cabin, which stood fifty feet or more eastwardly from the spring, and lay in a winter's supply of meat for his family without the trouble of hunting. He could pick his choice of deer, elk, buffalo or bear; for all these animals came there to drink. Bear meat was preferred above all other kinds, owing to its sweet and nutty flavor; and the bacon of swine went begging when bear bacon was convenient. Wild turkeys were also abundant and so tame that they roosted in the trees and stood about the cabin, and were not regarded with special favor; for when one eats turkey every day he soon longs for something more substantial. Bees nested in the crevices of the rocks and in the hollows of adjacent trees, and came also to the spring to fill their little buckets with water. Thus Boone and his family had an abundance of honey, of the best quality and flavor, without going beyond the limits of their own yard or bothering themselves about the care of the bees. It was a genuine Arcadia, embracing an existence seemingly unreal, but it was very real and substantial when Boone built his cabin on the bank above the spring—and for some years thereafter.

Back of the spring a hill slopes gradually up to the foot of a bluff, from the top of which may be seen many miles of the level stretches of Femme Osage valley, with the creek of the same name winding its course through the corn and wheat fields and the rich meadow lands that margin its banks. There are not many finer views anywhere in the world; and for richness of soil the farms that lie spread out beneath this bluff can hold their own with the valley of the Nile. Before Boone came the French had given a name to this creek ("Woman of the Osage") to perpetuate the memory of an Osage woman, said to have been beautiful, who lost her life while attempting to cross the stream when

it was swollen by recent rains. Sometimes it becomes a torrent, sweeping over all obstacles and flooding the lower portions of the valley. It was in this condition when the Osage woman, driven doubtless by an unsympathetic husband, gained immortality by getting herself drowned.

The story of how Daniel Boone came to the valley of the Femme Osage is told in the records of Louisiana Territory. About 1790, weary and despondent over his failure to secure titles to his lands in Kentucky, and burdened with debts which he could not pay, the ruggedly honest old pioneer gave up all the acres that he possessed in the now famous bluegrass region, and removed with his family to the valley of the Kanawha. He located in what was then the northwestern part of the State of Virginia, but now within the limits of Mason county, West Virginia, not far from the town of Point Pleasant. The Northwest Territory was already beginning to be occupied by thrifty pioneers, and it was believed that the Kanawha valley was a good place to settle and catch the drift of trade as it flowed by from the Atlantic States to the new and expanding West.

Soon after the removal to the Kanawha country, Daniel M. Boone, a favorite son, and also a pioneer of distinction, ventured into the Louisiana Territory on a hunting and trapping expedition. The fame of his father had preceded him and he was most kindly treated by the Spanish authorities at St. Louis. The Lieutenant-Governor, Senor Zenon Trudeau, suggested that if his father, the celebrated Colonel Boone, would remove to Louisiana, the king would appreciate the act and treat him handsomely. The younger Boone thereupon sent back such glowing accounts of the warmth of his welcome, the richness of the soil, the excellence of the climate, and the plentifulness of game, that the imagination of the old pioneer was inflamed; and disposing his family and his few earthly belongings on packhorses, he led the way on foot across the present States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, to the north bank of the Missouri river, in what is now the upper part of St. Charles county. This journey was made in 1795, when Boone was in his sixty-first year,

and a glance at the map will show the magnitude of the undertaking. The old man walked every foot of the way, with his rifle on his shoulder, through the trackless wilderness, a large part of which was infested by bands of blood-thirsty savages. The fact that he made the journey and brought his family through in safety attests the greatness of the man.

On their arrival in St. Louis, Colonel Boone and his family were treated by the Spanish officers as distinguished guests. The freedom of the city was extended to them. The American and Spanish flags were displayed side by side, and the garrison was paraded in honor of the distinguished pioneer of Kentucky. No function of courteous hospitality was left unperformed; and before their departure the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor presented Colonel Boone with a grant for 1,000 arpents of land, to be located where he pleased in the "District of the Femme Osage." The district then embraced everything north of the Missouri river and indefinitely westward to the "South Sea." It was large enough to satisfy a man even of Colonel Boone's expansive ideas; but he chose to locate the grant in the rich bottom lands of the Missouri river, four or five miles below the present town of Augusta. There he built his first cabin within the limits of Missouri, close by the uncertain banks of the shifting stream. The land and the cabin have long since been swallowed by the caving-in of the banks, and the river now flows where the Boone arpents lay. Here he and his son, Daniel M., undertook to build a town, which they called Missouriton in honor of the river on whose banks it stood. For a while the place flourished, and after the cession of Louisiana to the United States it was proposed to locate the capital of the Territory there. But the town, like the cabin and the land, has long since fallen into the river. Nothing remains to mark its site, and no memory of the place lingers in the neighborhood except a country postoffice called Missouriton, kept by a farmer who lives some distance from where the old town stood.

A year or two after his arrival, the Spanish authorities entered into a contract with Colonel Boone to bring one hundred American families to Upper Louisiana, for which he was to receive a grant for 10,000 arpents of land, to be laid, as the others had been, in the Femme Osage district. The contract was fully complied with by both parties, but Boone lost his land by neglecting to have his grant confirmed by the Spanish Governor at New Orleans. There were no public mails then in Louisiana Territory, and a trip to the southern capital was too great an undertaking merely to secure the signature of the Governor. Meanwhile the transfer of the Territory was made to the United States, and it was then too late for Boone to have his title confirmed. Subsequently, on the 24th of December, 1813, Congress, by special act, confirmed his title to the Spanish grant of 1,000 arpents. This tract he soon afterward sold and applied the proceeds to the payment of his Kentucky debts; so that, in the end, he died landless, for the farm and the stone mansion in the Femme Osage valley belonged to General Nathan Boone.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of Femme Osage district had increased to such proportions as to require a local government, and on the 11th of June, 1800, Colonel Boone was appointed commandant of the district. It was about that time, or perhaps a little earlier, that he built the cabin near the spring in the Femme Osage valley and removed his family there. The duties of his office were both civil and military, and his decision in all cases was final, except those involving land titles, which were referred to the crown or its immediate representative. Punishment for crime or misdemeanor was of the most summary character. The accused, if proven guilty, was tied up and whipped, the number of lashes being proportioned to the nature of his offense. A hickory sapling that stood in the yard near the spring served as a whipping-post. That kind of punishment met the requirement of the age, and no thief or breaker of the law was ever known to resent a judgment rendered by Daniel Boone. He held his court under the spreading branches of a large elm tree, which still

stands on the bank a few feet above the spring, and is known as "Daniel Boone's Judgment Tree." Here, dressed in buckskin hunting-shirt and pantaloons and moccasins of the same material, and seated at the roots of the old tree, he propounded the law and dispensed justice to his assembled neighbors in a manner that never failed to win their approval. If a hog-thief, or one who had put his mark on his neighbor's shoats, pleaded guilty or was proven so, he was promptly "whipped and cleared," as they expressed it. That ended the trouble, and the culprit went about his business with no further annoyance or loss of caste in the community. Fortunately, there were no capital offenses committed in the district during Boone's administration, and he was never called upon to condemn a murderer.

The stone house, or mansion, was completed in 1813. It has been represented as the first stone house erected west of the Mississippi; but this is a probable error, for houses of that material were built in St. Louis, and doubtless also in Ste. Genevieve, at an earlier date. But they were not such houses as the Boone mansion. That was the product of the joint labors of the old Colonel and his son, General Nathan Boone, assisted by their slaves, and several years were devoted to the work. The walls were composed of blue limestone, neatly chiseled, and are about two feet thick. The size of the building, measured on the outside of the walls, is twenty-eight by forty-six feet, with a height of twenty-two feet. A hall nine feet wide runs through the center of the first and second stories, with doors opening into the rooms on either side. The rooms are large and uncomfortable in appearance, and have no closets or other conveniences known to modern architecture. Yet a great deal of work was expended in some features of their ornamentation. The entire structure is divided into seven rooms, three on the first floor, and two each on the second floor and in the attic. A portico ornaments the north front, and a double veranda the south. The marks of the hammers and chisels on the stones are as plainly visible now as they were the day the house was finished, and the plaster that the stones were laid

in was mixed in such a manner that it has become almost as hard as the stone itself. It is said that the plaster was "ripened" by being buried in the ground over winter.

Daniel Boone occupied a little diagonal room to the right of the hall, on the first floor, in the northwest corner of the building. It was partitioned off from the kitchen, which also served as the dining-room, and it is entered by a single door opening into the latter. Two small windows give light from the north. In this room the famous pioneer, hunter and Indian fighter lived during the last few years of his life, and there he died, like an infant falling asleep, on the 26th day of September, 1820. A telephone now hangs on the wall of this room. What a story the old pioneer might tell could he but connect with the other end of the wire!

WILLIAM S. BRYAN.

A GERMAN COMMUNISTIC SOCIETY IN MISSOURI.

(Concluded.)

The beautiful and abundant walnut timber of the North Valley furnished the cabinet maker and joiner splendid material with which to work. For these frugal people not only built their own houses but also made their own furniture. From their flax fields they obtained linen, and from their flocks of sheep they gained wool for their clothes. At first the spinning wheel and hand-loom performed this labor but later machinery, run by steam, took their places. The colony hatter made felt hats from the fleece of lambs and the fur of rabbits. In brief, they made everything they needed, excepting drugs and medicines, all in a small way, but sufficient for their own use. At Hebron, which was once a cluster of colony houses but which is now represented by two lone farm houses, is located the old colony cemetery. Here the resting places of the honest toilers are marked by humble limestone tombs, made by the colonists themselves. It seems to me, that of all the manifestations of skill in the colony, these memorials to the departed show least care and ability. Perhaps the concern for the living absorbed their time and energy so completely that the dead could not claim much attention.

Sharing things in common, it was but natural that common places should be provided for the protection of their live stock. For their horses a huge barn one hundred and twenty by forty-eight feet was constructed at Bethel. In style it was what is commonly known as a Pennsylvania bank-barn, with a basement-like arrangement where the animals were kept and a tremendous loft for the hay and grain. There was also a separate barn for the protection of the work-cattle, also a tremendous pigsty, and at Hebron,

a large barn for the cows and stock-cattle. Thus they took the most excellent care of their animals, and in this respect they should have been an illustrious example to the early Shelby County farmer, who left his stock in the open the year around.

For Dr. Keil, their leader, the colonists erected a large dwelling in Elim which is one and a fourth miles from Bethel. This house is still standing and seems to be in a perfect state of preservation. In the days when this structure was erected, it must have been a veritable palace among the houses of that region. It is constructed of brick and stone, fifty-two by thirty-six feet in size and two and a half stories high. Its hardwood finish would be the pride of a New York millionaire, but of course in those days it was the only timber obtainable. It is said that Keil protested against this tremendous expenditure of time and labor. But his followers who truly idolized him would not suffer him to dwell in a house as humble as their own. It is further stated that Keil, whether for effect or some other reason, lived in this palatial residence only for a short time. Against the protest of his followers, he moved into a simple brick house, and at one time even left Bethel to dwell in an humble wooden shack in Nineveh. Keil was ever a roving, restless man who always liked to play to the galleries.

Another large building at Bethel which deserves to be mentioned here is the one which the colonists called "*Das grosse Haus*"—the large house. In one part of it the colony store was kept. Another part represented the hotel, famed for its excellent meals. The rest of the building was designated as a dwelling place for those of the colony who had no kin with whom to reside. Most of the inhabitants of this house were unmarried men.

There remains still another form of building to be mentioned here. It is the old German bake-oven which stood out in the yard. One of them is still standing. It is a rude structure of stone and brick. To bake the bread a huge fire was built in this oven. When the brick and stone had become thoroly heated, the fire and ashes were withdrawn

and the fireplace thoroly swept. Then the dough which was contained in small baskets about a foot in diameter made of hickory shavings, was placed into the space where the fire had been, and allowed to bake in the heat which radiated from the superheated brick.

All the manufacturing at Bethel and Nineveh was carried on in a small way only. The intent was to supply the colony with everything it needed. However, of some things there was a surplus, and this was sold to outsiders. The chief support of the society was agriculture, for which the surrounding land afforded ample opportunity. At the time of dissolution the society owned 3,536 acres of land in Shelby County and 731 acres in Adair County. The land in Adair County was not as valuable as that in Shelby. Parts of it were subject to inundation. But the chief cause why this land was bought in Adair County was the presence of coal in this region. Then too it was believed that the Chariton river would furnish much needed water power.

There was apparently but little in the Bethel community to break the monotony of everyday life. An occasional dance, a picnic, a festival occasion, as described in another place, and weekly band concerts seem to have been about all the diversions for the weary workers. To be sure in their band they had a source of pleasure which their neighbors had to do without. To judge from reports, the work of this band was excellent. Under the able management and direction of Henry Finck this organization gained an enviable reputation. Their instruments are said to have been very fine. Among the curios which are shown to the inquisitive visitor is an old bass drum which was made by the colonists themselves and which is still in perfect condition. Of course we expect more from a settlement of this nature, but when it is considered how little diversion other settlements of that day had, it will be agreed that Bethel lived in pretty gay style.

In matters educational the colonists did not have very great advantages. A common school was of course established, and for years was under the management of Moses

Miller. In later years Karl Ruge—a college bred man—took charge and conducted the work till he moved to Oregon with Keil. After this some women taught, much in the manner in which the work had been begun, that is, all the work was in the English language, altho all the members were Germans. Beyond the most elementary training but few aspired. Keil himself was opposed to higher education, holding that it was non-essential in making good workers for the society. His position is made clear in the interview which Nordhoff quotes in the work above cited. (13) There it appears that a young man would be permitted to go to college, at the expense of the colony, provided he acquired some knowledge which would bring immediate benefit to the colony. If he simply chose to acquire a broader view of things by means of a liberal course of training, he was not permitted to go. On the whole Keil's attitude toward the intellectual life of his charge leaves much to be wished for. In fact his severity and his autocratic rule had a stultifying and dwarfing effect on the minds of his people. As some outsiders have told me, he did not wish his members to know too much, nor to mingle with the world too freely, for then they would have lost some of their docility. Men with considerable learning came into the society, as was shown above, but in the colony the young people did not get beyond the training in the three Rs.

The German language was neglected in the school because there seemed to be no immediate pecuniary return arising from the use of this tongue. The most natural result was that the German language lost its hold on the younger generation. When I speak of German here, I mean the classical High German. The people at Bethel still speak German and even delight in doing so when they meet among themselves. But in a great many instances it is the rather perverted speech of the Pennsylvania German. Some of the people at Bethel are descendents of Germans who came to Pennsylvania in the 18th century. To this lack of interest in German education is to be attributed the abandonment of

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the German Methodist church in Bethel. In an effort to become Americanized some of the names were distinctly anglicized. Possibly the most flagrant cases of such changing are found in the cases of John Knight whose German name was Johann Knecht, and the Mileys whose German name was Maile.

Politically most of the Bethel Germans are Republicans. Bethel township is the only Republican township in Shelby County. During the Civil War these Germans maintained a strict neutrality. This was done upon the advice and strict order of Dr. Keil who, knowing that the entire adjoining country was on the side of the Confederacy, feared a devastation of their property and an annihilation of his charge. An interesting story is told in "History of Monroe and Shelby Counties." (14) A body of Confederate sympathizers under Porter and Greene came down on Bethel. The colony, being apprised of their coming, hid many of their things. Nevertheless the troops foraged some, but they did no personal injury. When later on a body of Union soldiers came through that region, they asked that the colonists should name to them their neighbors who were Confederate sympathizers, in order that they might forage among them and leave their friends unmolested. No, said they, these men are our neighbors and our friends with whom we live in harmony and peace, you shall not molest them. If you need food, we have plenty, help yourselves. If you need food for your animals, we have enough of that also, take it, but leave our friends undisturbed. It is said that neither Union or Confederate soldiers, coming near Bethel after this incident, would disturb a people so generous and peaceloving.

One of the most embarrassing things in the preparation of this study is the fact that it is absolutely impossible to obtain an accurate account of their business transactions. The fact is that only very few accounts were kept, and these few have been carelessly dealt with and have apparently been lost. Nordhoff seems to have had the same experience. He says concerning the Oregon branch of the society the

following: (15) "I asked the purchasing agent about the bookkeeping of the place; he replied, 'As there is no trading, few accounts are needed. Much of what we raise is consumed on the place, and of what the people use no account is kept. Thus if a family needs flour, it goes to the store and gets what is required. If butter, it goes to the store in the same way. We need only to keep account of what we sell of our own products, and of what we buy from abroad, and these accounts check each other. When we make money, we invest it in land.'" For the reasons thus given it is impossible to arrive even at a comparative estimate of the financial condition and the extent of the business transactions of the society. If the statement is true that they invested their savings in land, we shall yet have a chance of seeing something of their financial condition, when we discuss the settlement of the business affairs at the time of the dissolution of the community.

All the transactions of the society were based on confidence. The land was deeded to individuals who held it in trust for the society; the foremen of the various industries made no reports, and even after the removal of Keil to Oregon the Trustees at Bethel did not have to render him an account of their transactions. The most perfect confidence and trust existed among the members of the colony.

In some accounts of the Bethel society it is stated that the members were not allowed to marry outside of the colony. Upon an interrogation as to the truth of this statement it was most emphatically denied by the surviving members, and incidents quoted where such marriages had been contracted without any interference on the part of the superiors whatever.

At various times I have alluded to the Aurora, Oregon, Colony as a branch of the Bethel Society. For the sake of understanding the concluding part of the Bethel account it will be necessary to speak a word of the Oregon Colony also. It was already stated that Keil was a very restless man. The region around Bethel soon became too thickly

settled. He feared that his people would become contaminated by contact with the "World," as he called it. As is well known, the California gold fever made known the far distant West to all the world. Keil became very much interested in the West, and resolved to send a delegation of his men out there to investigate the Oregon country in particular, to see in how far it would suit the conditions of his colony. He entertained the hope that out there he could take his people and that there, uncontaminated by outsiders, he could continue to rule them. Accordingly, some time in 1854 the following men were sent to the Pacific coast to look up a favorable location for the colony: Christian Giesy (who also took his wife with him), Adam Schuele, Joseph Knight, John Stauffer, Sr., John Stauffer, Jr., Michael Schaefer, and John Genger. A majority of these men reported favorably on a region, not in Oregon, but in the Willapa Valley, in Washington Territory.

In the spring of 1855 serious preparations were begun for the transcontinental journey. Fortunately I am in possession of the complete account of the tedious trip across the plains. Being dictated by Keil himself, it must be taken for its full value. It teems with interesting and thrilling incidents. I shall publish it in another study which shall deal with both the Bethel and the Aurora communities. About the last part of May or the first part of June the train of seventy-five wagons left Bethel for the western coast. Other trains followed later on. One in 1863 was made up of forty wagons. Smaller groups of men went by water, crossing the continent at Panama. After five months of travel, amid the greatest difficulties, the first train of immigrants reached the region in Washington Territory which had been designated by the deputies. It was found that the place was wholly unsuited to the purpose for which it had been selected. It was mountainous, only small tracts of land could be purchased in a body and communication with the outside world was almost entirely barred. They spent a miserable winter there. The temperature was very low and the temporary houses were very bad. The suffering

was wholly beyond description. Keil who had cursed Missouri, and who in a letter from Fort Kearney, Neb., had congratulated himself that the boundary of the State of Missouri was at last passed, now wished that his charge had never left the flesh-pots of Bethel. Missouri now seemed to all a veritable Eden, and Keil charged the members at Bethel not to dispose of a single foot of land they owned there. The following spring many of the colonists went to Portland, Oregon. The first letter of Keil which bears the stamp of Portland is dated March 28th, 1856. Here Keil took up his medical practice again, and continued to be thus employed until June, 1857. He had purchased a tract of land in the Willamette Valley in Marion County, Oregon, and had named the site where the new town was to be erected Aurora. Thither he recalled all the members whom he could summon. The first letter written by him from Aurora Mills, as it was then called, was dated June 16th, 1857. All those who were not bound by agreement with some employer, for the able bodied men and women had to get out and earn some money, responded to his call. And now began once more the awful task of establishing new homes, and that in a thickly wooded country. Some of the members deserted the cause and began to shift for themselves.

After establishing the colony in Aurora, Keil wrote the most contradictory letters to his old members in Bethel. Now he urged them to sell out at once and join him in the west, while in the very next letter he pleads with them not to dispose of their belongings. In the later years of his life his letters had a uniform tone, however, namely an earnest appeal to re-join their brethren on the Pacific coast. It seems, however, that the Missouri branch had lost confidence in Keil. They remained passive to his pleading. Despite the fact that representatives were called from Missouri to Oregon, and committees from Oregon were sent to Bethel, the transfer could not be made. Whether an attempt was made to sell the land at Bethel prior to the general division, I am not able to say. In 1877, December 30th, Dr. William Keil died. Soon the steps were taken to effect the division of the property.

Before I discuss the matter of the separation, however, I wish to refer to a strange fulfillment of a promise on the part of Keil. The latter had promised his favorite son, William, that he should go to the region which had been visited by the deputies who looked for a location. Before this trip could be made the boy took sick and died. The father wished to make good his promise. He also wished to show his people how sacred a promise should be to every one and how one should fulfill a promise even toward the dead. He decided that this boy's body should lead the train of immigrants across the plains. He therefore sent to St. Louis and a metal casket was procured. Into this the boy's body was placed. Since the art of embalming was not practiced in that region at that time, the remaining space in the casket was filled with alcohol. This casket was placed in a specially prepared wagon which was drawn by four mules, and this solemn conveyance headed the train and lead the way across the plains. Thus there took place a funeral procession the like of which has perhaps never been seen a second time in this country. After a five month's journey the young body was interred at Willapa in Washington territory.

After his departure Keil left the affairs of Bethel in the hands of deputy presidents, appointed by himself, and who scarcely dared to act contrary to his wishes. And here was a serious source of discontent. The people wished to have a voice in the selection of their superiors. These deputy presidents were really not responsible to any one, as Keil did not trouble himself with regular reports. They performed all the functions which Keil had performed. They ruled and they preached, but the members could not appeal from their decision. The first deputy president was Dr. Wolf. This man had been prepared as a Lutheran minister in Germany, and was indeed in the service of the ministry in Marietta, Ohio, when he came under the influence of Keil. Wolf was a well educated and very able man. He really looked to the good of the people. Under his rule the people were contented, at least they were satisfied that he was doing the best that could be done for them under the circumstances. Even while Keil

was yet in Bethel, Wolf counceiled for the real interests of the people against the opinion of Keil himself. Some of the old men in Bethel told me that Keil did not like Wolf on this account and tried to suppress him, but that he could not find a man more ably fitted to take charge of things when he left for the west. Wolf remained in charge at Bethel until 1863 when he led a train of forty wagons across the plains. Most of the men were young men. Keil did not wish them to take part in the war which was then raging. To escape being drafted into service they left the country.

The drawing of such large bodies of men, and especially young men, together with large numbers of the best horses, mules and cattle, and the complete equipment for the trans-continental trip was a serious drain on the Bethel Society. It was a handicap which they never entirely overcame, and which prevented them from bringing their colony to that state of perfection which they no doubt would have attained, if they had remained unhampered. Nor were they called upon only at the time of the exodus to assist their brethren, but even after they had gotten out to Washington calls came in for shoes and clothing. Nor is there any record that the immigrants had given anything in return for the contributions thus received.

But to return to the subject of the deputy presidents. After Wolf's departure, Andrew Giesy who will be remembered as one of the young men whom Keil sent out to preach in German settlements, prior to the founding of the Colony. After Giesy's term the reins went into the hands of Jacob G. Miller who still is living in Aurora, Oregon, and to whom I am indebted for many a kindness in the preparation of this account. These deputy presidents not only cared for the temporal welfare of the colonists but also for the spiritual, in so far at least that they preached once every two weeks. Besides these three persons, a fourth, namely, Jacob Findling, a papermaker by occupation, preached occasionally. Keil's defamers declare that Keil had Findling preach at times, in order to amuse himself at the poor man's ridiculous attempts to perform a task for which he was unfitted.

As there was no constitution the organization was a very loose one. There was no contract between the members except an understanding that all should labor for the common cause and all should receive their livelihood from the general supply. Everything went harmoniously until one Henry L. Hoffman sued to recover wages. Hoffman knew very well that the society did not pay any wages to its members, but he decided to sever his connection with the society, and at this juncture resolved to extort some money from the colony. Pay being refused him, he brought suit in the courts of Shelby county. The society having no legal existence, he brought suit against several members of this unincorporated body. In all he brought five suits. All of these cases were taken to Marion county, and in none of them did he recover damages. The history of the connection of the Hoffman family with the Bethel Colony is the following: (16). Hoffman's father joined the society in 1846. In 1848 he severed his connection with the society and went to Hannibal. It was a strict principle of the Bethel Society to reimburse the seceding parties with the amount they had conducted to the common stock. Hoffman having conducted nothing to the stock was paid \$25, the amount which was paid to all those retiring who had brought nothing to the general funds. In 1857 Hoffman, Sr., died, leaving a widow and several dependent children, one of whom was the said Henry L. Hoffman, then aged fourteen. After the death of her husband, Mrs. Hoffman returned with her children and begged for readmission in the colony. She conducted nothing to the stock but was taken in. She and her children worked in the society, receiving therefrom the benefits of food, clothing, shelter and schooling. According to the principles of the organization no one was entitled to wages, and so Hoffman's claims were unfounded, he himself having once declared himself a member of the colony. However, in order to avoid hard feelings and to get rid of Hoffman entirely the following settlement was effected. Mrs. Maerks who was Hoffman's

16. The facts in this connection were obtained from the answer filed by Andrew Giesy to the petition of Henry L. Hoffman; Andrew Giesy being the party sued as deputy president of the society.

mother-in-law had contributed some money and it was estimated that her share in the colony was worth about \$1200. Hoffman had a child who was the lawful heir to this money. So this amount was paid Hoffman to be held in trust by him for his child. This was precisely the amount which would have been paid these parties at the time of the final settlement. It was paid, however, previous to the time of the final settlement, and so far was a concession which the colony made to adjust the Hoffman affair. It was done more to deal squarely with the little girl than to appease Hoffman.

During the latter part of the colony's existence, Keil sent his son, August, to Bethel as physician and as a sort of overseer. He was in no wise fitted for these tasks. In the first place he was not well trained in medicine, in the second place he possessed no business ability, and finally he was such an inveterate drunkard that no one would intrust life or property into his hands. At first the colonists rejoiced that a Keil was again in their midst. They hoped that some of his father's ability might have been transmitted to the son. In disgrace and unattended the poor man died in a barn at Bethel. Of the large family of Dr. Keil only one son is now living, Emanuel Keil, who resides at Aurora, Oregon. None of the children of Keil seem to have had that ability to deal with men in the manner which made him such a distinguished person.

When in 1877 Dr. William Keil died, the knell of the colony was sounded. There appeared no one who could rule with the iron hand of Keil. Even he had found difficulty in doing so toward the last, as is easily seen from his letters. The young people began to see that they, individually, did not possess as much property as their non-communistic neighbors. Here and there arose a longing for individualism. The older generation was not so eager for the new order of things. They were very conscious, that left alone, they, many of them at any rate, would have remained day-laborers all their lives. However, since the former conditions no longer obtained, and since no leader appeared capable to manage and control affairs, it was deemed prudent and necessary by all to effect a speedy di-

vision of the property—first between the two branches in Missouri and Oregon and finally among the respective members of each colony.

In the Recorder's office in Shelby county, Record Volume No. 28, appears the following record under the caption "Bethel Colony to J. G. Miller et al request to sell:" "Whereas there are now resident in said County of Shelby, State of Missouri many persons who are members of a community or colony known as 'Bethel Community' and whereas there are many persons, citizens and residents of the Counties of Marion and Clackamas, State of Oregon, members of and belonging to a colony known as the 'Aurora Community' and whereas both of said communities own and have an interest in common in certain real and personal property, situated in said states of Missouri and Oregon and whereas both of said colonies or communities were during the lifetime of Dr. William Keil under his direction, superintendence and control, who during his said lifetime held property in trust for both the said communities and whereas by reason of the great distance between the said states of Missouri and Oregon and the many difficulties encountered by both said communities in owning, managing and enjoying jointly and in common real and personal estates in different states," etc., therefore it was decided to effect a division of said estates at an early date. According to this same record the following attorneys in fact and agents for the Missouri society were appointed: Philip Miller, Philip Steinbach, John Schaefer, John G. Bauer and Henry Will; while the Oregon society sent the following attorneys in fact and agents: Samuel Miller, Henry Will, (a cousin to the Henry Will from Missouri) and Stephen Smith.

The Bethel colony issued its instructions under seven headings:

1. That the attorneys from both colonists should meet as soon as possible.
2. That they should effect peaceful settlement if possible.
3. That the agents should have absolute power to determine manner and mode of division. "We hereby ratify and confirm in advance all the acts of our said attorneys in fact, or

a majority of them touching and concerning the real estate and property aforesaid."

4. That they should reduce their conclusions to writing.

5. That they should have full power to incur expense legal and otherwise in performing this task.

6. That they should have full power and authority to bring to court any members of the Bethel Community, either in the Federal or State Courts to assist in effecting the separation.

7. "After our aforesaid attorneys in fact shall have agreed upon and perfected the division between the two communities of property now in common held, they our said attorneys in fact are authorized and empowered to divide and partition between us according to our respective rights and interests as the same may be found and ascertained by them or a majority of them, all the property real, personal and mixed belonging to the said 'Bethel Community.'"

In testimony whereof we hereunto subscribe our names and affix our seals this the (blank) day of (blank) 1879.

her	Jenny, Annie
Bachert, X Catherina	Jenny, G.
mark	Keller, Christina
Bauer, Louisa	Keller, Daniel
Bronson, D.	her
Bronson, Susan	Keller, X Mary
Ebner, Elizabeth	mark
Erich, Dianah	Keller, Susanah
her	Mangold, Henry
Erich, X Emma	Mangold, Margaret
mark	Mangold, Christine
Erich, Hermann	Moffett, George
Erich, Peter	Moffett, Louisa
Erich, Wilhelmine	Miller, Moses
Gehrken, Henry	Noll, Emily
Gehrken, Adelheide	Noll, Melchior
Grossman, Ausgang	Pflum, Fredrick

her	Pflum, Rose
Grossman, X Elizabeth	Pflum, Sarah
mark	her
her	Roser, X Dorothy
Grossman, X Elizabeth	mark
mark	Roser, Jacob
her	Schadle, Matilda
Grossman, X Susana	Schadle, Thomas
mark	Schreiver, Christiana
Helfenbein, Henry	Schreiver, Hanna
Schreiver, Henry	Will, Elizabeth
Schreiver, Lena	Will, Julius E.
Schreiver, Samuel	Will, Lorenz
Stark, Christina	Will, Nicholas
Stark, Joshua	Woerther, Jacob
her	Ziegler, Clearrelly
Steinbach, X Elizabeth	Ziegler, Emma
mark	Ziegler, George
Steinbach, George	Ziegler, Henry
Steinbach, Pauline E.	Ziegler, Julia
Steinbach, Philip	Ziegler, Mary
Steinbach, William	Ziegler, Sophia
Will, Catharina	Ziegler, W. A.
Will, Catharina	

Thus there appear in Bethel 65 signatures. The men appointed as attorneys did not sign this document.

Then follows the part that pertains to the Aurora Community. From the very outset the Aurora people assumed that the Bethel Community should pay them a certain compensation. Similar to the Bethel people they gave their representatives or in case of death or disagreement to two of them power to do the following:

1. To ascertain what if anything should be paid the Bethel Community in the division.
2. To see how the Bethel Community would pay its compensation, if any.

3. Whether payment should be made in cash or in property, when and how paid.

4. To make written, signed report of their agreement.

They too agreed to confirm and ratify in advance all the acts of their agents. "We especially desire the same to be conducted and consummated upon the strictest principles of equity, good conscience and fair dealing," they continued, "Now then trusting wholly in our said agents and attorneys to settle for us with our former friends and relations upon the principles aforesaid, whether the result to us as a community be large or small, or such in amount as we now expect and look for, we do hereby expressly covenant that in so far as we are able, we will and shall accept, agree to and abide by the same whatsoever it may be."

In witness whereof we have hereunto affixed our names and seal this 31 December 1878 and this 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 15 and 16th days of January 1879.

Signed and sealed in the presence of:

URBAN WILL
and

HENRY E. GIESY.

her
*Bachert, X Maria
mark
*Bachert, Michael
Beck, Charles, Jr.
his
*Beck, X Henry
mark
Beck, Louisa
Beck, Sarah
*Beeke, Charles
Beeke, Henry
*Beeke, Johanna
her
Behrens, X Anna
mark
Behrens, Dorothy

Fry, Henry
her
Fry, X Mary
mark
*Fry, William
*Fuchs, Catharine
*Gerken, Deborah
*Gerken, Peter
*Giesy, Anna Barbara
Giesy, A. J.
Giesy, Andrew
Giesy, August
*Giesy, Barbara
Giesy, Barbara A.
Giesy, Catharina
Giesy, Catharina
Giesy, Catharina A.

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Bergman, Elizabeth | *Giesy, Elizabeth |
| Boehringer, Catharina | Giesy, Elizabeth |
| *Brady, Adelhelde | Giesy, Emily |
| *Brady, Thomas | *Giesy, Emma M. |
| *Burkholder, Adam | *Giesy, Frederick |
| Burkholder, Catharina | *Giesy, Helena |
| Burkholder, Catharina | *Giesy, Jacob |
| *Burkholder, Elias | *Giesy, John |
| Burkholder, Elias | Giesy, M. |
| Burkholder, Jacob | Giesy, Martha |
| her | Giesy, Mary |
| Burkholder, X Nancy | Giesy, Mathilda |
| mark | *Giesy, Michael |
| Burkholder, Samuel | *Giesy, Rudolph |
| *Ehlen, Catharine | Giesy, Sarah |
| Ehlen, Clara | *Giesy, Samuel |
| *Ehlen, Claus H. | Giesy, William |
| *Ehlen, Elizabeth | his |
| Ehlen, Henry | *Giesy, X William |
| his | mark |
| *Ehlen, X J. D. | Gruenbaum, Aaron |
| mark | *Jost, Conrad |
| Ehlen, Lorenz | *Jost, Johanna |
| *Ehlen, Maria | Keil, Elizabeth |
| *Ehlen, Mary | Keil, Emanuel |
| *Ehlen, William | *Keil, Fredrick |
| *Findling, Barbara | *Keil, Louisa |
| *Forstner, Elizabeth | her |
| Fry, Anny | *Knight, X Anna |
| Fry, Caroline | mark |
| *Fry, George M. | Scholl, Maria |
| *Knobel, Gertrude | her |
| *Kocher, Catharine | Scholl, X Rebecca |
| her | mark |
| *Kocher, X Catharina | |
| mark | |

- Kocher, Christian
 Kocher, Christina
 *Kocher, George
 *Kocher, Mary
 *Kocher, Sophia
 Kraus, Christina
 *Kraus, Elizabeth
 *Kraus, Elizabeth
 Kraus, George
 *Kraus, Henry
 Kraus, William
 *Kraus, Wilhelmina
 Link, David
 *Link, John
 *Link, Lavina
 Link, Rose
 Link, William
 Maile, Fredrick
 *Meyer, Henry
 Miley, Cathrina
 Miley, Henry
 Miley, Jacob
 Miley, William
 Miller, Amelia
 *Miller, Catharina
 *Miller, Catharina
 *Miller, Catharine
 Miller, Elizabeth
 Miller, Gertrude
 Miller, George
 Miller, Isaac
 Miller, Jerdith
 his
 *Miller, X John
 mark
 *Miller, Joseph H.
- his
 *Schreiver, X John
 mark
 *Schuele, Christina
 *Schuele, Mary
 Schuette, Mary
 *Schwader, Gottlob
 Schwader, Jacob
 *Schwader, John
 Schwader, Louisa
 *Schwader, William
 Smith, George
 her
 Smith, X Rosina
 mark
 *Snyder, Charles
 Snyder, Christian
 *Snyder, Daniel
 her
 *Snyder, X Elizabeth
 mark
 *Snyder, Henry
 *Snyder, Henry
 *Snyder, Israel
 Staps, Adam
 his
 *Stauffer, X Benedikt
 mark
 her
 *Stauffer, X Caroline
 mark
 her
 *Stauffer, X Catherine
 mark
 *Stauffer, Elizabeth
 Stauffer, Jacob

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Miller, Louisa | his |
| Miller, Louisa | *Stauffer, X Jacob |
| Miller, Mathilda | mark |
| *Miller, Salamon | *Stauffer, John |
| *Miller, William | Stauffer, John |
| Miller, William H. | *Stauffer, Maria |
| her | *Stauffer, Mary |
| *Mohler, X Elizabeth | *Stauffer, Rosina |
| mark | his |
| her | Stauffer, X Theodore |
| *Mohler, X Mary | mark |
| mark | her |
| Preutz, Louisa | *Steinbach, X Catherine |
| her | mark |
| *Rapps, X Catharine | *Steinbach, Daniel |
| mark | *Steinbach, David |
| her | his |
| *Rapps, X Maragaret | Steinbach, X George |
| mark | mark |
| *Rapps, Michael | Steinbach, Hannah |
| her | *Steinbach, Jacob |
| *Remport, X Catharine | *Steinbach, J. Adam |
| mark | Steinbach, Margareta |
| *Ruge, Karl | Ulbrand, Diedrich |
| *Schaefer, Michael | *Voght, Henry |
| *Schaefer, Michael, Jr. | Voght, Louisa |
| *Scharmann, Sophia | her |
| Schmidt, Martha | Voght, X Mary |
| Schneider, Catharine | mark |
| *Scholl, A. D. | *Voght, Andy |
| *Scholl, David | *Wagner, Catharina |
| *Scholl, G. F. | Wanner, Fredrick, Sr. |
| Scholl, Fredrick | *Wanner, John |
| *Scholl, John | Wanner, Joseph |
| *Scholl, Louis | |

*Webber, Mariana	her	her
her		Wolfer, X Catharine
*Weyman, X Maria	mark	mark
mark		Wolfer, Christian
*Will, Christina		Wolfer, Christina
Will, Christina	her	his
her		*Wolfer, X Davis
*Will, X Dorothea	mark	mark
mark		*Wolfer, George
Will, Elizabeth		*Wolfer, John
Will, Elizabeth P		*Wolfer, Margaret
Will, Emma		*Wolfer, Marie
Will, Fredrick		*Wolfer, Rudolph
Will, George		Wolfer, Sarah
Will, Henrietta		*Wolfer, Samuel
*Will, John		Wolfer, William
Will, Louisa		Ziegler, George
her		Zimmerman, Catharine
Will, X Mary		Zimmerman, Christine
mark		his
Will, Matilda		*Zimmerman, X David
Will, Sarah		mark
Will, Susana		Zimmerman, Elizabeth
her		her
*Will, X Susana		*Zimmerman, X Elizabeth
mark		mark
Will, Thriphine		her
*Will, Urban		*Zimmerman, X Mary
*Will, Wolfgang		mark
*Woerner, Fredrick		her
Wolf, W. C.		Zimmerman, X Mary
Wolfer, Adelia		mark
*Wolfer, Benjamin		

From these official signatures it appears that Aurora had 236 members at the time of dissolution. As is the case of the Bethel Community the agents sent to bring about the settlement did not sign the paper. According to the statement

of some of the old members at Bethel, the names indicated with an asterisk were personally known to them as former members of the Bethel Society. I make no claim as to the accuracy of this marking, having no data by which to check it myself. Most probably it is nearly correct, and in such a case we would have at least a partial list of those who once lived in Missouri. In twenty-four years a great many of the older generation must have passed away, and a great number of the younger generation must have come into the society.

The joint committee, whose powers are officially attested in the above record, at once proceeded to business. In the Recorder's office of Shelby County, Record Vol. 31, at pp. 1 to 19 is found the extremely lengthy record of the agreement concerning the division of property between the two communities. This agreement is dated June 20th, 1879. The document is very detailed in the description of the real estate. It is shown that the society owned 3536 acres of land in Shelby County, Missouri, valued at \$42447.50. Also town property in Bethel, Missouri, valued at \$10728.00. Smaller tracts of land near Bethel, a corn crib, a grist mill with machinery in Bethel, valued together at \$7475.00. Furthermore 731 acres of land in Adair County, Missouri, valued at \$2790.00. Also the following personal property in Adair County, Missouri: Cash from the sale of lands \$683.85, Promissory notes do.\$204.00, together \$887.85. The estimate of the property in Oregon as to its value was \$45478.00. (It should be remarked here that the Oregonians did make as careful an appraisalment of their property as the Missourians had made but made a bold guess at what their property was worth.)

To recapitulate then, it is found that the society owned the following estates:

Real estate in Shelby County, Missouri.....	\$ 42447.50
Town lots in Bethel, Missouri.....	10728.00
Other lots and improvements in Bethel, Mo.....	7475.00
Property in Oregon.....	45478.00
Real estate in Adair County, Missouri.....	2790.00
Cash and Notes in Adair County, Missouri.....	887.85
Total valuation.....	\$109806.35

The writ continues thus: "And we the said attorneys and agents acting further in pursuance of the said power and authority, find that the total valuation of said property is \$109806.35, and having fully examined the question as to the rights and interests of the two communities therein, find that the "Bethel Community" is entitled to \$47214.25 part thereof and that the "Aurora Community" is entitled to \$62592.10 the residue thereof. And we the said attorneys and agents do hereby allot and set apart to the "Bethel Community" the following described property, (here follows the description of the property), valued as hereinafter set forth, amounting in the aggregate to the sum of \$47028.00 (!) (Here manifestly an error has occurred. The correct sum of \$47214.25 which has been quoted once before, appears on a line that was manifestly erased. The erasure and corresponding correction was, by oversight, no doubt, not made in the second instance when the sum was recorded.)

The Bethel Community was allowed the following property:

Land valued at.....	\$ 36425.00
Lots valued at.....	10603.00
Fractions of land near Bethel, Mo., valued at.....	186.25
	<hr/>
	\$ 47214.25

The share which the Aurora Community was allowed was made up in the following manner:

Property in Marion and Clackamas Counties in Oregon, valued at.....	\$ 45478.00
Lots in Bethel, Mo., valued at.....	500.00
One corn crib, valued at.....	100.00
One grist mill and machinery valued at.....	7000.00
530 acres of land in Adair County, Mo., valued at..	2790.00
508 acres of land in Shelby Co., Mo., valued at....	5836.25
Cash and promissory notes.....	887.85

Total paid to Aurora.....	\$ 62592.10
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The agents subjoined the following note: "In making the division and partitions the said attorneys and agents of

said communities found certain fraction lots, adjoining and near the city of Bethel which for want of proper survey and description they were not able to inventory which said fractional parcels of land they have valued together at \$186.25 and allotted the same to the Bethel Community."

Then follow the signatures of the five agents of Bethel and the three from Aurora. Moses Miller as notary public and William Haeffner and Julius E. Will, as the two witnesses, attested the signatures. The document was filed with Recorder John J. Bragg, on June 23rd, 1879.

According to the foregoing stipulations the Bethel Community was obliged to pay to the Aurora Community the sum of \$17114.10 in cash, endorsement of old notes and real estate and personal property. When I asked one of the ex-members of the Bethel Society whether they did not regard this sum excessive, they said that they did think it exorbitant, in view of the fact that they had contributed so largely to the equipment of the trains that crossed the plains, and since they had to suffer the drain of the best workmen from the society. But since the Oregonians came determined to receive certain emoluments, and everybody being weary of the affair, they acquiesced in what they at that time regarded a rather presumptuous demand.

Altho the agents had some very stormy meetings, and sometimes had to adjourn for several days to "cool off," all ended harmoniously. The entire settlement was made without a sign of a lawsuit. There being no written compact, no provision was made for a possible dissolution. Hence the problem before these men was a unique one. The Bethelites consulted an attorney at law at Shelbyville, who charged them \$50 for—as one of the old men put it—telling them that he knew nothing about that sort of thing. Finally they consulted the noted counsellor D. P. Dyer of St. Louis, who evolved the scheme by which the division of the property among the members was made, for the trifling sum of \$170; the Oregon Society took their affair to the courts of Equity and spent \$6000 in effecting their final settlement.

To show in what a detailed and painstaking manner the invoice was taken at the appraisement of Bethel, I subjoin one account, it being that of Philip Steinbach, Sr. It appears under the heading Phil. Steinbach, Sr. and Company. By the term Company is meant those persons who are immediately connected with, related to or dependent upon the larger stockholder whose name leads the account.

Steinbach, Phil. Sr. & Co.		Dr.
1. Cultivator.....	\$	6.75
3. Horses and 1 Mare.....		320.00
6. Cows.....		124.00
1. two year old heifer.....		23.00
1. Graineradle.....		2.25
5. Plows.....		9.75
1. Cornplanter.....		30.00
1. Wagon and water cart.....		50.00
2. Wagon sheets.....		3.00
1. Grindstone.....		2.50
1. Crosscut saw.....		2.25
Blacksmith shop and tools.....		94.90
Saddler shop and tools.....		150.00
1. Harrow.....		1.50
1. Sled.....		4.00
Shoe tools.....		6.50
1. Hand corn planter.....		.45
1. Trunk.....		1.00
1. Cane mill.....		10.00
1. Drawing knife.....		.65
1. Wooden vice.....		1.00
1. Mare.....		15.00
5. Mules.....		203.00
1. Mare.....		30.00
1. Buck sheep.....		8.00
24. Wethers @ \$2.75.....		66.00
15. Wethers @ \$2.21.....		33.15
17. Wethers @ \$2.00.....		34.00
15. Wethers @ \$1.75.....		26.25
14. Ewes @ \$4.00.....		56.00

13. Ewes @ \$3.50.....	45.50
11. Ewes @ \$2.50.....	27.50
11. Ewes @ \$2.75.....	30.25
1. Two year old heifer.....	17.00
1. Two year old heifer.....	15.00
1. Post auger... ..	1.00
1. Two year old heifer.....	15.00
	<hr/>
	\$1466.15
	1413.99
	<hr/>
	\$ 52.16
Steinbach, Phil. Sr. & Co.	Cr.
Steinbach, Phil. Sr.....	\$ 575.03
Steinbach, Phil. Jr.....	283.24
Steinbach, William—wife.....	125.64
Gerkin, H.....	355.08
Credit on mare.....	75.00
	<hr/>
	\$1413.99

After the general appraisement had been made and the detailed invoice of each man's holdings had been found, the problem was simplified to its lowest terms. When all items were in the form of cash the solution was simple. The first thing that was done was the setting aside of the amount each man or woman had conducted to the general stock. Then the land was divided. To determine what share each should have of the personal property, the whole number of years that all had labored for the society, after they had reached maturity was divided into the sum representing the total of personal property. Thus it was found that of this sum each man was entitled to \$7.76 per year for his services and each woman was allowed half this sum, \$3.88.

The following is a sample of the simple record that was kept of the account under the caption of "Sum total of Personal Property." The account which I chose again pertains to Philip Steinbach, Sr. et al.

Names.	Years.	Dollars.
Steinbach, Phil. Sr.	34.....	\$263.84
Steinbach, Phil. Wife.	34.....	131.92
Steinbach, William.	10.....	77.60
Steinbach, William, Wife.	9.....	34.92
Steinbach, George.	5.....	38.80
Steinbach, Henry.	2.....	15.52
Credit on land.		12.43

Total credit.....\$575.03

The splendid colony church was sold to Jacob G. Miller for the sum of \$1500. Miller was the last leader and preacher and being interested in the good of the people and even hoping to reunite them into a colony, he purchased this building. At a subsequent sale he lost a good deal of money on his investment. This church had not been considered under the general appraisement. But since all the colonists had had a share in its erection and perservation all shared in proportion to the number of years each person had been an active member in the society. It was determined that each male member was entitled to \$1.12 of the church money for each year of his membership, while each woman was entitled to 56 cents per year of her membership.

The final account is condensed by the committee in family groups. The following is a sample of the final total account:

Names of Persons.	Years.	Sum Total.
Keller, Daniel.	26.....	\$ 725.92
Keller, Daniel, Wife.	21.....	293.16
Keller, Susan.	24.....	335.04
Keller, Christina.	18.....	251.23
Bachert, Widon.	34.....	474.64
Keller, Widow.		348.45
Conduced by A. Keller.		804.50
Conduced by Widow Bachert.		15.66
Church.		59.92

\$3308.57

A single glance at these figures suffices to convince one that the pecuniary gain, accruing from the society was not

great. It must be remembered, however, that these people had all their wants supplied and lived without care. Moreover a great many of them, if left to themselves, would have eked out a bare existence as day-laborers. Others, to be sure, were seriously handicapped. Being skilled artisans, they could have gained vastly more wealth if they had plied their trade in individualism.

Many of the old colonists still recall the community day with serene pleasure. "Das war das Paradies," that was paradise, one of them said to me after he had talked reminiscently. "In der Kolonie war es aber doch so schön" was the concluding remark of an old lady who had spent thirty-four years in the society. The association of kindred spirits, the freedom, the ease they enjoyed, the absence of care and responsibility, the fraternal feeling and the devotion to a common cause are topics which all of the old colonists like to speak about. One of the men assured me that the old bond of fellowship still existed among the former members. He said, "When the old people get together there is still the bond of a great love and this love we believe is God."

Community life seems not to have unfitted the members for the struggle in individualism. As far as I could learn, all of them are doing well at some trade or profession. In many instances they are pursuing the same trade which was theirs during their membership in the colony.

After the formal dissolution of the society, Jacob G. Miller, tried to reorganize the society at Bethel. He had a small following. After a very short time, however, this scheme was abandoned and the property of these persons divided among the members concerned.

Bethel was incorporated a town in 1883. It is a small place of about 300 inhabitants. It is located off the railroad. It differs little from the towns of its size in the State except that its buildings seem odd and unusually substantially constructed. There is a general air of uniqueness about the place which is the heirloom of the old community days.

WILLIAM GODFREY BEK,

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A DECADE OF MISSOURI POLITICS—1860 TO 1870.
FROM A REPUBLICAN VIEWPOINT.*

In the consideration of American political questions, it is well to bear in mind the cardinal facts that, in its travels from the Atlantic coast line westward to the Pacific, by slow and easy stages over mountain and plain for nearly three hundred years, public thought in America has unconsciously been colored and moulded by the three different political and religious schools founded by our ancestors who came to the new world under the first three Royal English grants to our colonists: Jamestown in Virginia in 1607; Plymouth in Massachusetts in 1620 and Charleston in South Carolina in 1670;

That whether descended from Cavalier, Puritan or Huguenot, the average American has inherited many of the thoughts and theories of his ancestors;

That heredity, education and environment largely determine our politics and religion, and that for neither do we deserve either praise or blame any more than we do for the color of our hair.

My present purpose is to discuss and make plain to the young only those historical and political questions, buried in the mists of years, which the old seem to have forgotten and which the young never knew. This I do, not to revive memories which may possibly be unpleasant to the few, but for the sole purpose of vindicating the truths of the history of our fair state, for the benefit of the many.

And you, I feel sure, will consider such facts, as I do, "with malice toward none, with charity for all," and will agree with me that a free people should never fear to review their past, nor fail to look with confidence and hope for the

*A paper read by Judge H. C. McDougal, of Kansas City, before the society at its third annual meeting March 8, 1904.

future; that the channel of history should never be diverted, nor its clear waters polluted, and that "to search for the truth is the noblest occupation of man! its publication a duty."

Born and reared in that part of Virginia which in June, 1863, became the State of West Virginia, I am still proud of the glory and achievements of the Old Dominion, and proud of the fact that during the Civil War I served in the Union Army as one of the 32,000 volunteers furnished by West Virginia—"the Child of the Storm."

Then, coming westward at the close of that mighty struggle, I became, and have ever since had a commendable pride in being a citizen of Missouri, identified with and a part of her growth, development, greatness and glory; working in harmony with the people in upbuilding the material interest of this great State, and during all these years I have been proud of the fact that I have been and today am a Missouri Republican, and before I get through, I'll tell you why.

EARLY HISTORY—BENTON AND ANTI-BENTON.

At the close of a political struggle, which for length, intensity and bitterness, had no parallel in the history of our country, up to that date, Missouri finally became a State of the American Union on August 10, 1821, and at the next session of Congress, in December of that year, our first two United States Senators were admitted to their seats, David Barton as a Whig and Thomas Hart Benton as a Democrat.

Up to near the close of his illustrious career as our most distinguished U. S. Senator, the great Benton ruled the Democratic party of Missouri, not as leader or boss, but as absolute master.

Although a Southern slave holder and loyal to his party in all else, yet Benton favored the gradual emancipation of the slaves, opposed the extension of slavery in the Territories and became what was then called a "Free Soiler." Among his earnest enthusiastic, active and aggressive followers were Francis P. Blair, Jr., Thomas L. Price, B. Gratz Brown, James B. Gardenhire, Samuel T. Glover, Robert W. Wells

(then U. S. District Judge), and many other stalwart Democrats of that time, most of whom were also Southern slaveholders, and the war raged between the Benton and Anti-Benton factions from the adoption of the "Jackson Resolutions" in 1849 up to the commencement of the Civil War.

With prophetic eye, Benton saw the coming storm, believed in the gradual emancipation of the slaves as the surest way to avert civil war, instilled these principles into his followers, and when he died, on April 10, 1858, his broad mantle fell upon the strong shoulders of that prince of chivalrie, peerless leaders of men—Frank P. Blair.

Among the many important results of this factional fight in the Democratic party, was the election, in 1851, of Henry S. Geyer, an ardent Henry Clay Whig, as Benton's successor in the United States Senate; and another, curiously interesting, was that in 1856 Benton's Free Soil followers purchased a large tract of land at the mouth of Gray's creek, three miles above Jefferson City, on the Missouri, platted it, sold lots and erected many buildings with a view to there establishing the Free Soil city of Upper Jefferson and laid the foundation of a large university for the propagation of the doctrines of their majestic, imperious leader. His death, the changed conditions and the approaching war, caused the abandonment of this enterprise.

GOVERNOR JACKSON'S ACTION AND THE CONVENTION OF 1861-1863.

In 1860 Claiborne F. Jackson was elected Governor of Missouri as a Douglas Democrat, but early became the recognized leader of the secession wing of his party. The General Assembly elected on the ticket with him, also favored secession. Soon after the inauguration of Governor Jackson and upon his recommendation, George Graham Vest introduced a bill, which became the law by the Act of January 21, 1861, providing for the election of delegates to a State Convention, which was required to assemble at Jefferson City on February 28th, 1861, to "consider the then existing relations between the Government of the United States and

the people and government of the several States," and "to adopt such measures as should appear to be demanded for vindicating the sovereignty of the State and preserving its institutions," etc., (Laws Mo., 1861, pp. 20-21).

The open and avowed object of the Governor and the Legislature in so calling that Convention was to take Missouri out of the Union.

The result of the election, however, showed beyond question that the Governor and his secession allies had mistaken the political sentiment of the people, for the only question discussed by people and press in that short, vigorous, earnest campaign was: "Shall Missouri remain in the Union, or join the seceded States?"

The men of Missouri not only loved the Union on principle, because it was right, but there was this additional personal and financial consideration which led them to oppose secession. They knew that if Missouri joined the Confederacy, war was not only certain to result, but that, surrounded as she was on three sides by Northern States, Missouri would be what Virginia afterward was—the battle ground of that war.

Hence, upon a popular vote, the men of Missouri decided by a majority of over 80,000 to stand by the Union, and of its ninety-nine members not a single avowed Secessionist was elected as a delegate to that Convention; nor, upon the other hand, was there a single Republican elected.

This Convention first assembled at Jefferson City on the day appointed, and, upon the motion of James O. Broadhead, organized by electing as its president, General Sterling Price, the vote being seventy-five for Price, Democrat, and fifteen for Robert Wilson, Whig. Later, on March 4th, it convened at the Mercantile Library Hall in St. Louis, and continued its sessions at such times and places as the public good seemed to require, from this time on to July 1, 1863, when it adjourned *sine die*.

For brains, learning, wisdom, eloquence, courage and patriotism, this Convention outranks any body of men ever assembled within the borders of Missouri, and the student

of those troublous times will search its literature and history in vain for more earnest, fervid, eloquent and patriotic appeals for the Union than those then delivered by the Democratic members of that Convention.

"There were giants in the earth in those days;" many of them right here in Missouri, and one of my purposes is to rescue from the wide waste of oblivion the name, fame, and achievements of those great ones who in the war of the '60's were always at the fore front of the fight for the right; to rekindle the fires of patriotism; brighten fame growing dim in the flight of the years, and now slowly drifting out of sight like thistle-down from an old field in autumn. If I succeed in this, and at the same time illuminate the pages of history of the times, I shall not have thought and wrought in vain.

Among the many distinguished Democrats who were elected to and took their seats in that Convention are found the names of many who will be remembered and honored with pleasure and pride by every loyal Missourian as long as Missouri is known in history. Among others may here be mentioned Willard P. Hall, of Buchanan County, afterwards Governor of the State; William A. Hall, of Randolph; Uriel Wright, Ex-Governor Robert M. Stewart, James O. Broadhead, later minister to Switzerland; Thomas T. Gantt, afterwards judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals; Hamilton R. Gamble, later Provisional Governor of the State; John How, of St. Louis; George W. Dunn, of Ray, for many years an honored judge of the Circuit Court in Clay and Ray Counties; John F. Philips, of Pettis, now United States district judge at Kansas City; Vincent Marmaduke, Joseph Bogy, A. Comingo, afterwards member of Congress from the Kansas City district; Judge James H. Birch, the elder, of Clinton County; General A. W. Doniphan and James H. Moss, of Clay; J. Proctor Knott, later Governor of Kentucky; A. C. Marvin, of Henry; Sample Orr, of Greene; Robert D. Ray and Elijah H. Norton, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri; Samuel L. Sawyer, later circuit judge and member of Congress from the Kansas City dis-

trict; Thomas Shackelford, of Howard; Judge James McFerran, of Gallatin, then a circuit judge; Colonel J. H. Shanklin, of Trenton, member of the constitutional convention of 1875, nearly all then lifelong Democrats, and all Democrats after that date. While the only two men then in that convention, who afterwards attained prominence as Republicans were John B. Henderson and Joseph W. McClurg, and they were Democrats when elected. And standing shoulder to shoulder, heart to heart, with these members of that convention were such Missourians as Frank P. Blair, Samuel T. Glover, B. Gratz Brown, John S. Phelps, James S. Rollins, Silas Woodson, Charles H. Hardin, Ex-Governor Austin A. King, Judge John F. Ryland, Thomas T. Crittenden, John P. Sebree, Robert W. Wells and Thomas L. Price—Democratic lions in the path of disunion. Four of those last named were afterwards Democratic Governors of Missouri—Woodson, Hardin, Phelps and Crittenden. All then studiously avoided any political connection or affiliation with either of the two great political parties; would as soon have been called "Secessionists" as "Black Republicans," and simply, firmly and grandly stood for the Union.

It is a now remarkable fact, here worthy of parenthetical note, that of the men whom I have named, all, excepting four (How, Phelps, Sawyer and Stewart) were of Southern blood and breeding—born, reared and educated in Southland—and, while gradual emancipationists, yet nearly, if not all, of them were then the owners of negro slaves. To me this is not strange, for in my native country, the conditions were then the same as here, and in the company of loyal Virginians, in which I enlisted in the summer of 1861, there were thirteen slaveholders, not a man in that company had any quarrel with the institution of slavery, and if there was at that time either a Republican or Abolitionist in our regiment, I did not know it. But war educates. The superb courage, lofty patriotism and sterling devotion to the Union of many Southern slaveholders, seems beyond the comprehension of, and never has been, and perhaps never will be, understood or appreciated by the people of the North. But

their record is a glorious one, and high above all others on fame's eternal roll of loyalty the recording historian of the future will yet inscribe the names of the loyal heroes of the South who loved Union more than slavery, laid their all upon their country's altar and fearlessly followed the old flag.

It is true that no member of that Convention was elected as either a Whig, Democrat or Republican, for in the public peril of 1861, neither man nor measure was here considered upon old party lines; party names were swept away, swallowed up, lost and forgotten; party organizations dissolved and intelligent public thought, wrought to highest intensity, was focused upon the one great, grave question: Union or Secession, which? Upon the one side stood the Union men of Missouri under the splendid leadership of gallant, glorious Frank P. Blair; while upon the other side stood the pronounced Secessionists under the leadership of the no less brave, intrepid Claiborne F. Jackson.

It is also true that in the fierce and bitter storm of war, some of these great men were swept from their political moorings. General Sterling Price, Vincent Marmaduke, Uriel Wright, and perhaps other strong Union men when elected, as well as during the first session of the Convention, going into the Confederate Army, whilst John B. Henderson and Joseph W. McClurg, became pronounced and distinguished Republicans—yet the great majority of that convention were lifelong Democrats.

But do not forget that during the four years' war, the great majority of the Democratic members of that Convention, acting upon and within the powers conferred, adopted and enforced such war measures as in their wisdom they deemed absolutely necessary for the good government, peace and preservation of the integrity of the State; that they then stood shoulder to shoulder with the 17,000 Republicans who in 1860 had voted for Lincoln; acted in harmony with and had the confidence and friendship of the national Republican administration, and that their hearts beat in patriotic sympathy with the great heart of the pivotal figure of the war—Abraham Lincoln. "Render therefore, unto Caesar the

things which are Caesar's," was the perpetual injunction issued long ago by the Master. Yielding obedience to that injunction, not grudgingly, but with pleasure and pride, I say to you that these Democrats and to the small band of their Republican allies, the people of this State owe a deep, lasting, yet unappreciated debt of gratitude. But for their combined wisdom, loyalty, patriotism and courage, that bright star, now of the fifth magnitude, which today glitters in our country's flag to the name of Missouri, would have been torn from its place and for years wandered in the outer darkness of secession. While the handful of Republicans then in the State, and especially the German element in and around St. Louis, under the leadership of such men as Thomas C. Fletcher, did the full measure of their duty in bringing about this result, yet the truth of history must and will accord to the then loyal Democrats of this State the high honor of saving Missouri to the Union. Of the many patriotic Missourians of that day who are here named, only half a dozen are on earth today! the others have slumbered for years and years in their graves—their great souls out in that veiled hush and voiceless desert which we call eternity—"and their works do follow them." In the years that yet shall be, generations of Missourians now unborn will study the character and achievements of these men, and then with reverence shall say: Honor to the memory, peace to the ashes, rest to the souls of those who saved Missouri to the Union.

EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE EFFORTS TO TAKE MISSOURI OUT OF THE UNION.

When it was apparent to all that actual civil war was on, Governor Jackson convened the General Assembly of the State in called session on May 2, 1861. The Camp Jackson affair at St. Louis occurred on May 10; an exaggerated account of the unfortunate result reached the Governor and Legislature that evening, and was the pretext for calling an "extraordinary session" of the Legislature at midnight on that night. The session was secret and only sixty-seven out of the one hundred and thirty members were present, yet

at that midnight session the Act of May 10, 1861, was passed and approved. This Act authorized the Governor "to take such measures as in his judgment he may deem necessary and proper" to repel invasion or put down rebellion.

The Union troops occupied Jefferson City on June 15, 1861; but before their arrival the Legislature had adjourned and the Governor had fled the capital.

Acting under the authority of this Act of May 10, while temporarily at New Madrid on August 5, 1861, Governor Jackson issued his famous "Declaration of Independence," wherein he solemnly declared that the political connection between the United States "and the people and government of Missouri is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that the State of Missouri, as a sovereign, free and independent Republic, has full power to levy war," etc. Later he again called the Legislature in session—this time at Neosho, on October 21, 1861—and there, on October 28th, they made their third and last ineffectual attempt to take Missouri out of the Union by first passing an Act of Secession, next one of union with the Confederacy, and then adjourned to meet at New Madrid on the first Monday in March, 1862. As there was no quorum of either house present at this session, the acts of the "Neosho Legislature" were practically treated as null and void by all parties. No attempt was made to hold the adjourned session at New Madrid in March, for the reason that the Union forces were then in possession of that part of the State.

Governor Jackson's long years of relentless, stormy struggle for state supremacy ceased only with his frail body, his restless, courageous, yet implacable spirit, both worn and weary from the conflict, finally found rest near Little Rock, Arkansas, on December 2, 1862.

THE LONG CONVENTION AGAIN.

Meanwhile the long convention was holding its sessions, and by the ordinance of July 30, 1861, had declared the offices of governor, lieutenant governor and secretary of state vacant on account of the disloyalty of these officers; created

a provisional State government, and had filled the respective vacancies by the election of Hamilton R. Gamble as Provisional Governor, Willard P. Hall as Provisional Lieutenant Governor and Mordecai Oliver as Secretary of State, to hold their respective offices until the first Monday of the November following. This ordinance further provided that a State election be held on said first Monday of November, 1861, for the election of these three State officers, as well as for members of the General Assembly; but by the ordinance of October 12, 1861, this election was postponed to the first Monday in August, 1862, and later, by the ordinance of June 11, 1862, the convention continued the three officers named in their respective offices "until the first Monday in August, 1864, and until their successors are duly elected and qualified." Under this authority Governor Gamble continued in office until his death in January, 1864, and from that time on Willard P. Hall was the Governor until the inauguration of Governor Fletcher on January 2d, 1865.

Upon the formal expulsion of Waldo P. Johnson and Truett Polk from the U. S. Senate on January 10, 1862, upon charges of disloyalty, Provisional Lieutenant Governor Willard P. Hall, in the absence of Governor Gamble, appointed Robert Wilson, of Andrew County, and John B. Henderson, of Pike, as their respective successors. Wilson had been an old line Whig and Henderson a Douglas Democrat.

By resolution of June 6, 1862, "unanimously adopted," General Sterling Price and five other members were "expelled from their seats in this convention" upon charges of disloyalty and the seats of three other members were "declared vacant" for like tendencies.

Early in its sessions, and on October 16, 1861, by the decisive vote of 37 to 15, the convention by ordinance provided for the first test oath ever required in Missouri, by saying, "That each civil officer in this State * * * take and prescribe an oath * * * that he will not take up arms against the Government of the United States nor the Provisional Government of this State, nor give aid or comfort to the enemies of either during the present civil war." Fail-

ure to take this oath forfeited the office, and it was made a felony to either falsely take it, or violate it.

At its next session, and on June 10, 1862, the Convention adopted the famous ordinance entitled, "An Ordinance defining the qualifications of voters and civil officers in this State." (Ordinances of the Missouri State Convention, pages 13-14; Laws of Missouri, 1863, pages 687-689.) The material features of this ordinance were as follows:

Section 1 provided that no person should **vote** at any election in this State, who should not first take an oath to "support, protect and defend" the Constitution of the United States and of this State "against all enemies and opposers, whether domestic or foreign;" that he would "bear true faith, **loyalty** and allegiance to the United States," and would "not directly, or indirectly, give aid, comfort or countenance to the enemies or opposers thereof, or to the Provisional Government of the State of Missouri;" and further, that he had not "since the 17th day of December, 1861, willfully taken up arms or levied war against the United States, or against the Provisional Government of the State of Missouri."

Section 2 provided that before any person should "be **elected or appointed to any civil office** within this State" he should take, subscribe and file a somewhat similar oath, the precise form of which was given in that section.

Section 3 provided that any person who should falsely take, or, having taken "any oath prescribed by this ordinance," should violate the same, should be adjudged guilty of the crime of perjury and it was made the special duty of courts to enforce the provisions of this ordinance. The next section is as follows:

"Section 4. The courts of the State shall require all jurymen and attorneys to take and subscribe the following oath:" (which is there set out in full) and then further provides that: "The same oath shall also be taken and subscribed by the President, Professors and Curators of the University of the State of Missouri, by all bank officers, common school teachers who are paid in whole or in part out of funds provided by law, and common school trustees, by all officers of all incorporated companies of this State and by all licensed or ordained preachers of the Gospel before

performing the ceremony of marriage in this State, and filed in any county clerk's office in this State; and every licensed or ordained preacher of the Gospel who shall perform the ceremony of marriage in this State before taking said oath, and every other person aforesaid assuming to discharge the duties pertaining to his avocation under the laws of this State, without complying with the provisions of this section, shall be liable to prosecution in any court of competent jurisdiction in this State, by indictment, and upon conviction shall be punished for each offense by a fine not less than ten nor more than two hundred dollars."

Section 5 provided that judges and clerks of election "shall, in addition to taking the oath required by existing laws, take the further oath that they will not record, nor permit to be recorded, the name of any voter who has not first taken the oath required to be taken by the first section of this ordinance."

No man in Missouri could therefore either vote, or hold office or discharge any of the duties of the several avocations named, without first taking the prescribed oath.

The fact then is that this system of disfranchisement and test oaths were established and required in this state long before the Republican party as a political organization had more than a mere nominal existence in Missouri, and the record of that convention shows that this ordinance providing such disfranchisement and oaths of loyalty was introduced, supported and voted for by Democrats. By turning to the official printed proceedings of that convention (pages 27 to 171) it will be found that the following well known Democrats, in speeches of great power, ability, patriotism and zeal, urged the adoption of the ordinance, speaking in favor of both disfranchisement and oaths of loyalty. On June 5, 1862, Willard P. Hall, a man of lofty character and powerful intellect, spoke. On June 6, James O. Broadhead, a conspicuous, able and fearless torch bearer of patriotism, made his speech, and on June 9 Judge John F. Philips, whose thrilling words of wisdom, wit, pathos and eloquence are still heard in the land, made one of his most powerful and eloquent appeals for the adoption of the disfranchising ordinance, in which, among other truths, he said: "There was not a man who entered the rebel service who did

not stake all upon the success of that cause, and who did not expect to be dealt with as a traitor in the even he failed." Other distinguished Democrats of the state were quite as emphatic in their support of this ordinance as were the gentlemen just named; while the member perhaps most earnest and zealous in his support of the ordinance was Judge James McFerran, of Gallatin, an earnest man of splendid ability and high standing. Indeed, Judge McFerran drew the report of "the committee on elections and elective franchise," embracing the original ordinance and from the fact that this ordinance, drawn and reported by so distinguished a Democrat, was adopted by that convention, it is safe to assume that upon the questions raised, Judge McFerran not only uttered his own convictions, but voiced those of a majority of that convention when he said (page 163):

"The question now is, whether ministers of the Gospel and school teachers shall take this oath.

"I think if there is any class in the State that ought to be put under the solemnity of an oath, it is the ministers of the Gospel. Of all the men in the State who have contributed to bring about the evils now on us, I think there is no class that is so responsible as ministers of the Gospel. The minister always does his work effectually; and whenever he gets to be a politician and gets among his flock, he instills poison into their minds, and all the arguments of politicians and orators can never remove it. If there is any class of men in this State who should be put under obligations of loyalty, the experiences of the year show it should be the ministers of the Gospel. * * * I do not think disloyal men should be permitted to preach in this State. Not that I have any disrespect for ministers of the Gospel, but because I have a high respect for the public safety and the peace of the State, and because I consider them more important than any considerations appertaining to individuals."

The final vote upon this ordinance stood, ayes 42. nays 27 (Journal 29). That is how, when and by whom the disloyal element was disfranchised and test oaths established by which preachers, teachers, lawyers, jurymen, school directors and officers, and directors of all sorts of corporations, public and private, were deprived of the right to perform the duties of

their respective avocations without first taking the test oath, and oath of loyalty required by this ordinance.

Even prior to the passage of the ordinance in question and on April 24, 1862, Colonel Walter King, a Ray County Democrat, who was as distinguished for his services in the Union army as after the war he was conspicuous in his opposition to the Republican party, suspended the Rev. William M. Rush, of Chillicothe, Mo., from his "duties as a minister or preacher within this military district," and on the appeal of the preacher from this suspension, it was General, afterward Governor, Willard P. Hall, who not only refused to interfere, but confirmed the suspension upon the ground that "a religious congregation that cannot endure prayers for its Government is disloyal; and a minister that encourages such a congregation in its course is also disloyal."

The general elections of 1862 and 1864 were held under this ordinance, while those of 1866, 1868 and 1870 were held under the Constitution of 1865. The State militia and home guards, organized under the authority of the Convention and then subject to the orders of the Provisional Governor as their commander-in-chief, seem to have been quite active in preserving order, as well as in doing other things, at the polls in the elections of '62 and '64; but this was not so as to the elections of '66, '68 and '70 for the reason that before the election of '66 the war was over, the militia had been disbanded, and there was not, nor could there have been anywhere in this State, any military interference at either of the elections last named.

From the official printed proceedings of the last session of the Convention—from June 15 to July 1, 1863—and especially from the memorable speech of Judge Birch (*Journal of Proceedings* pages 374-380) it is quite certain that numerous and gross outrages were perpetrated upon the rights of many citizens by the militia, as well as by election officers, in the election held in the fall of 1862. Like conditions prevailed and like things were done at the election of 1864, but not thereafter for the reasons given. From the facts disclosed by the debates at that session of the Convention, it is certain that

one class of our people then complained with as much bitterness, as well as with far more reason, of the manner of executing the ordinance of 1862, as afterward they complained of the execution of the Constitution of 1865.

A fact of special interest to those who either charge or credit test oaths and disfranchisement to the account of Charles D. Drake, is that Mr. Drake did not become a member of the Convention first named until June 15, 1863—more than a year after the passage of the ordinance of June 10, 1862.

Another interesting fact, well nigh forgotten now, is that on July 1, 1863, this Convention ordinance provided for the emancipation of the slaves of Missouri on July 4, 1870—"and all slaves within the State at that day are hereby declared to be free."

In this connection, these facts may be recalled with local pride and pleasure: President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, issued January 1, 1863, declared freedom only to "persons held as slaves" in certain "designated States and parts of States" then "in rebellion against the United States." It did not affect the legal status of any slave in either Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware or Tennessee, nor of slaves in certain designated parts of Louisiana and Virginia, including that part of the latter which is now West Virginia, for the reason that they were not then "in rebellion against the United States." As to all these the President then declared that the institution of slavery was "for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued."

The Convention called to frame the Constitution of 1865, however, without waiting for the Federal Government to act, passed an ordinance on January 11, 1865, abolishing slavery in Missouri on that day—"and all persons held to service or labor, as slaves are hereby declared free." This was reiterated in that Constitution, while the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, abolishing slavery, did not become effective until December 18, 1865. Hence, Missouri, had and has the honor of having abolished the curse and crime of human slavery in this State more than eleven months before that result was accomplished

throughout the entire South by the ratification of the thirteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution.

Let us now take a hasty glance through the history of

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN MISSOURI.

The Republican party was organized and assumed that name as the name least offensive to Whigs and Democrats, soon after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and first became a national party in 1856, with John C. Fremont as its first candidate for President.

The first movement of the few Missouri Republicans was made in the campaign of 1860. Early in that year a conference of leading Republicans of the State was held at St. Louis, at which delegates to the Republican National Convention at Chicago were named. These delegates at that Convention placed Edward Bates, of St. Louis, in nomination for the Presidency. Lincoln being nominated and elected, he made Bates Attorney General of the United States. Bates served with distinction until 1864, and was Missouri's first cabinet officer. After that Convention adjourned, the Missouri delegates named the Lincoln electors for that campaign and made the gifted James B. Gardenhire, former Democratic Attorney General of the State, the Republican candidate for Governor, against his will. At the election of 1860 the Lincoln electors received about 17,000 votes and Gardenhire about 6,000.

The next movement tending toward the organization of the Republican party in Missouri was the "Emancipation Convention," held at Jefferson City on June 19, 1862, of which Judge Robert W. Wells was the president and Major John L. Bittinger and William Cuddy were secretaries. This convention declared for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, for the earnest support of the Union cause and of Lincoln's administration; but seems to have done little else. In that year a General Assembly was elected, the majority of its members being for the Union and for the gradual emancipation of the slaves.

The first distinctively Republican State Convention ever

held in Missouri met at Jefferson City on May 25, 1864, selected delegates to the Republican National Convention which was held in June and renominated Lincoln; adopted a stalwart Republican platform and nominated a full Republican State ticket, with Thomas C. Fletcher at its head as the candidate for Governor. This ticket was elected, as was also a Republican majority of both House and Senate; that General Assembly convened at Jefferson City on December 26, 1864, and Governor Fletcher was inaugurated January 2, 1865. Then, and not till then, was the Government of Missouri in the full control of the Republican party.

In 1863 the Legislature elected John B. Henderson and B. Gratz Brown as U. S. Senators and they were the first to represent Missouri in that body as Republicans. Charles D. Drake was elected U. S. Senator as a Republican in 1867, and Carl Schurz in 1869. When Senator Drake resigned to accept the office of Chief Justice of the United States Court of Claims in 1870, Daniel T. Jewett was appointed to succeed him until the next session of the Legislature, and since then our representatives in the Senate of the United States have been Democrats; and for the past third of a century every State election has been carried by Democrats, save and except that of 1894, which was an "off year" victory won by Republicans.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS.

Missouri has had but two straight Republican Governors—Thomas C. Fletcher, elected in 1864, served a term of four years under our first Constitution, and Joseph W. McClurg, elected in 1868, and served a term of two years under the Constitution of 1865. In 1870 the Republican State Convention was divided upon the adoption of the pending constitutional amendments; the one wing, called "Straight Republicans," renominated McClurg for Governor, while the other, known as "Liberal Republicans," nominated B. Gratz Brown for Governor. The Democrats made no nomination and by the combined votes of Liberal Republicans and Democrats Brown was elected by a majority of over 41,000.

CONSTITUTION OF 1865—REPUBLICAN CONTINUANCE OF
DEMOCRATIC TEST OATHS AND DISFRANCHISEMENT.

It has often been charged, and many of the present generation believe, that disfranchisement and test oaths were products of Republican hatred and first became a law in this state in and by the Constitution of 1865, and that this Constitution was formulated and ratified by the Republican party *after* the war was over. This is not true.

The Constitution of 1865 was provided for by "An Act to provide for a State Convention," approved February 13, 1864, by Willard P. Hall, then Democratic Governor of the State, which Act called that Constitutional Convention into existence. (Laws of Mo., 1864, pages 24-26). The delegates to this convention were elected in November, 1864, assembled at St. Louis on January 6, 1865, and Section 5 of the Act gave to the convention the express power to consider, among other things, "such amendments to the Constitution of the State as may be by them deemed necessary to preserve in purity the elective franchise to **loyal citizens**." The time, as will be seen by the dates given, was a time of war and not of peace, and the war spirit found expression in the language quoted from section 5.

When the candidates for that constitutional convention were before the people for election, the Democratic national convention of 1864 at Chicago was declaring in its platform that the war had been a failure; battles were being fought throughout the South; and the historic "Price's raid" into and through this state was being made. Sweeping away all opposition, on the conquering Confederate veterans came, with the avowed purpose of capturing Kansas City, marching on and taking the rich spoil of government supplies then at Fort Leavenworth and burning the city of Leavenworth. On their way at various points they met the Union troops in open field; fought the battles of Pilot Knob, of Lexington, of the Little Blue, of Independence and of the Big Blue, in each of which the Confederates were victorious.

Flushed with success, on they came to meet their Waterloo at Westport. There, on October 23, 1864, they fought the splendid and decisive battle of Westport, which turned the tide

and sent the Confederates in full retreat to the land of Dixie.

Among many well known Federal and Confederate soldiers, whose services for their respective causes in one or more of these battles were both gallant and conspicuous, I now recall the names of Colonels R. T. Van Horn, Robert H. Hunt and John F. Philips on the Union side, and Colonel John C. Moore, Richard Gentry and Captain (now Judge) Turner A. Gill on the Confederate side. Young man, go ask any soldier of either army, who in these battles heard the rattle of musketry, the cannon's roar, the shriek and scream of the death-dealing shell, and there looked down into the dying eyes of his comrade, and you will be told that that was a time of war and that there was not then the faintest glimmer of the dawn of peace.

All these battles were fought while the constitutional convention of 1865 was being assembled, and marauding bands of guerillas were then carrying death and destruction to Union men in many parts of the state.

The members of that convention completed and signed the Constitution on April 8, 1865.

On April 10, 1865, after the constitution was completed and signed and sent out to the people, that convention was still in session upon some minor ordinances, when the telegraphic wires announced the surrender of Lee at Appomatox. The members of that convention went wild with joy and before any other business was transacted, a resolution was unanimously adopted in which thanks were returned to Almighty God and President Lincoln for their work in breaking the power of the rebellion "and especially for the noble and humane disposition which has been manifested by our authorities to our conquered enemy."

In this connection it is well to recall the additional historic facts: That the President's peace proclamation was issued on May 9, 1865; that the last reported battle of the war, in which about 120 Union soldiers were killed, was fought at Palmetto Rancho in Texas on May 13th; that the last Confederate force in the field, about 20,000 soldiers under the command of General Kirby Smith, surrendered on May 26th; that

the election at which the constitution was adopted was held on the very day the order was issued by the Government for the release of all Confederate prisoners of war—June 6th, and that the constitution went into effect on July 4, 1865. Under these facts it is clear that this constitution was not only authorized, its framers elected, its provisions formulated and sent to the people for adoption or rejection in times of actual war; but that it was ratified at the polls only eleven days after the surrender of the last Confederate force.

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

The close of the Civil War marked the parting of the ways of the men of Missouri who for four long years had done and dared all for the Union. The Union or War Democrats and the newly organized Republicans of the State differed as to the time when the test oath should be abolished and the disfranchised should be enfranchised. The former insisted that the restrictions imposed in 1862 by the convention and continued in the Constitution of 1865 were mere war measures and that peace having been restored such restrictions should be removed at once; while the latter insisted that the time for this was not yet ripe. The issue was squarely presented, sharply drawn, and its discussion provoked almost as much bitterness as had the question of secession. The Union Democrats whom I have named resumed their old places in the Democratic party of the Nation; while the more radical members of the Republican party, flushed with success at arms and with the ballot, and then under the leadership of Charles D. Drake, were at first disposed to hold fast the party advantages given them by the fortunes of war and politics.

But the ever softening and mellowing influences of time, charity and conservatism were at work; the nightmare of war passed, the sweet dream of peace became a glorious reality and partisanship merged into patriotism and fraternity.

REPUBLICAN MAGNANIMITY.

The Constitution of 1865 had been adopted and the general election of 1866 had been held under its provisions. The

Confederate soldiers had returned to their homes; when before the second election had been held in this State under that Constitution, the Republican National Convention met at Chicago in May, 1868. In that Convention, at the unanimous request of the Missouri delegation, General Carl Schurz presented a resolution to be adopted as a plank in the platform of the national Republican party, which, among other things, declared: "And we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out and as may be consistent with the safety and loyalty of the people." This resolution was unanimously adopted at the request of the Missouri delegation and became the thirteenth plank in the national platform of the Republican party in 1868.

Later on and in July, 1868, the Missouri Republican State Convention, in the very first plank of its platform, reaffirmed everything contained in the Chicago platform named, and, among other things, declared that "We cherish no revengeful feeling toward those who fought in fair and open battle, though for an unjust cause, and stand ready to restore every political privilege at the earliest moment consistent with state and national safety."

REPUBLICANS ABOLISH TEST OATH AND RESTORE THE FRANCHISE.

The Republican party elected a Republican Legislature in the fall of 1868, and when that general assembly met, the Republican State Senate brought forward as Republican measures the constitutional amendments which repealed all test oaths, restored the franchise to every Confederate soldier and made him again eligible to every office in the gift of the people.

There were three of these amendments, all of which were prepared by the Republican judiciary committee of the Republican Senate. The first restored to the Confederates the right of suffrage; the second restored to them the right to hold office, and the third abolished the oath of loyalty.

On February 23, 1869, the suffrage amendment was adopted by a vote of 18 Republicans and 7 Democrats.

On February 24 the amendment restoring the right to hold office was adopted by a vote of 20 Republicans and 4 Democrats; 3 Democrats and 1 Republican voting in the negative.

On the same day the amendment repealing the oath of loyalty was adopted by a vote of 21 Republicans and 7 Democrats. Every Republican Senator voting for these constitutional amendments declared that he was in favor of submitting them to the people and that as one of the people he would vote for their adoption. My friend, Col. Wells H. Blodgett, of St. Louis, a member of that Senate, is authority for this statement, and the record fully sustains him.

After these three constitutional amendments had been thus submitted to the people, the Republican State Convention met at Jefferson City, in August, 1870, and commended the course of the Republican Legislature in submitting them to the people, but could not agree as to when all this should be done, and the Convention divided. The regular wing, which then nominated Governor McClurg for re-election, upon this question declared that "We recognize the right of every member of the party to vote his honest convictions," while the liberal wing, which then nominated B. Gratz Brown for Governor, declared as to these amendments, that "We earnestly recommend them to the people for their approval and adoption."

Upon these two platforms, the Republicans of Missouri went to the polls in November, 1870, and out of 144,000 votes cast, more than 127,000 were in favor of the re-enfranchisement of those whom a Democratic Convention had first disfranchised. Or to be exact, the vote of the State in favor of that amendment was 127,643, while there were only 16,288 votes against it.

SOME FIGURES AND REFLECTIONS.

The vote of Missouri on the Presidency in 1860 was as follows:

Douglas (Union Democrat).....	58,801
Bell (Whig).....	58,372
Breckenridge (Disunion Democrat).....	31,317
Lincoln (Republican).....	17,028
Total.....	165,518

Although many of them afterwards changed front, yet this vote would indicate that in the fall of 1860, only about nineteen per cent of the men of Missouri then countenanced a dissolution of the Union, and that only about twelve per cent. of them were then Republicans.

Another thing: Missouri sent to the Union Army over 109,000 volunteers and to the Confederate Army more than half that number of volunteers, aggregating the total voting population of the State in 1860. While the draft was enforced in every Northern State, as well as in all the seceding States, and while a draft was at one time ordered and in part enforced in this state, yet to the everlasting honor of the people of the State it should be remembered that to Missouri belongs the unique distinction of having kept its quota full in each of the contending armies, without a single Missourian serving as a drafted man under either the Stars and Stripes or the Stars and Bars. Such is the proud fighting record of Missouri in the Civil War—a record without precedent or parallel in the history of the world.

The total votes for Governor of Missouri, in the four presidential election years which tell the story, were as follows:

In 1860.....	156,575
In 1864.....	101,977
In 1868.....	144,987
In 1872.....	278,986

The lowest of these was 101,977 in 1864, when the Democratic ordinance of 1862 was in full force and before the Republican party obtained the control of our State Government.

This total was increased in 1868, during the nearly four years of Republican rule, over 43,000 votes.

Then came Republican enfranchisement in 1870, and at the next election thereafter, held in 1872, this total of 1868 was increased by 133,999 votes.

Years ago, when this was a living issue (it is a dead one now, thank heaven,) Democratic speakers and papers often charged that this increase in the vote of 1872 over that of 1868 was made up of disfranchised Missouri Democrats. Personally, I never believed that charge, yet if true, then the Republicans

who in 1870 enfranchised all of these 133,999 Democrats, conferred a colossal, yet wholly unappreciated favor upon the Democratic party!

The injunction—"Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days" may have been accepted and relied upon as written to stimulate the political hope of Missouri Republicans who in casting their ballots for enfranchisement also cast their bread upon the waters political; but, if so, the "many days" wherein they were to "find it" have been marvelously lengthened! For in the long generation which has intervened since 1870, the Republicans of Missouri have wandered in the wilderness as did the chosen of the Lord in time of old, subsisting on the manna of defeat, crying out "Who shall give us flesh to eat? We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers and the melons, and the leeks and the onions and the garlic, but now our soul is dried away;" yet we, too, have become "as the stars of heaven for multitude," and are still looking hopefully for a new Moses to lead us out of the wilderness and into the Promised Land of success.

Nearly four decades have elapsed since the curtain was rung down on the wild tragedy of the Civil War, and during all these years Democrats and Republicans, as well as veterans of the Union and Confederate armies, have dwelt together in such peace, unity and good will, that the young man of today can not fully appreciate the acts and doings of the two Conventions in question without a most careful and unprejudiced study of the times and conditions.

CONCLUSIONS.

Any Doubting Thomas, however, may readily verify the controlling facts here stated by an examination of the public records of our State and upon such facts, I submit that the following conclusions, here summed up for convenient reference, are irresistible, viz:

1. That the Democrats of this State and their 17,000 Republican allies saved Missouri to the Union in 1861;

2. That the Democrats of the Convention of 1861-1863, then being in supreme control of all branches of our State government and two years before the Republican party had any State organization in Missouri, not only disfranchised the disloyal and barred them from holding office, but adopted and enforced test oaths and oaths of loyalty for preachers, teachers and others by the authority of the Ordinance of June 10, 1862.;

3. That the Constitution of 1865 was authorized, formulated and sent to the people by the Republican party in times of actual war and was adopted only a few days after the surrender of the last armed Confederate force;

4. That a Republican Legislature drew, adopted and submitted to the people in 1870, the amendments to the Constitution of 1865, whereby the disloyal were re-enfranchised and permitted to hold office, and repealed the Democratic test oaths of 1862; and,

5. That it was the Republicans of the State who by a vote of 9 to 1 restored all these rights to ex-Confederates.

Whether the Democrats in first imposing the restrictive measures now under consideration in 1862 did that which was for the best interests of the people; whether in continuing such restrictions in the Constitution of 1865 the Republicans did right; whether these restrictions should at the close of the great war have at once been removed, present questions upon which the good people of Missouri then honestly differed and still differ.

After a careful study of the official records of the State; of time and environment, my own judgment is—and I believe the impartial historian of the future will concur in this judgment—that the Democrats who adopted and executed the Ordinance of 1862, did so from a high and patriotic sense of public duty. That the Republicans who three years later enlarged and re-enacted such restrictive measures, did so from like motives, no one has the right to deny.

It is as difficult for those who have grown up since the Civil War to understand the motives which then actuated the Union men of Missouri, as it is always difficult, often impossi-

ble, to "put yourself in his place." Hence the youth of to-day can at best only approximately comprehend the situation as those men then saw it.

While the dawn of peace was in fact near at hand on the day the Constitution of 1865 was signed and sent to the people, yet the most prophetic could not then fix the day when the hopes of four years should be realized. Railways and telegraph were then few and far between in Missouri, news traveled but slowly, and it is doubtful if on the day of election half the voters of the State knew that peace had been declared.

In reducing to the last analysis the powers, objects, duties and purposes the Conventions of '61-'63, and of '65, it should be remembered: That the former was charged with the duty of "vindicating the sovereignty of the State and preserving its institutions," while the latter was charged with the duty to "preserve in purity the elective franchise to loyal citizens."

Missouri remained in the Union; the work of each of these Conventions was done in times of actual war; the members of each were in good faith executing their respective trusts; battling to preserve the life of both Nation and State, while Missouri Confederates were in open rebellion against and striving to destroy the governments of both State and Nation.

But aside from all this, there is an additional consideration, which has been recognized and enforced in and by all human governments of earth from "the beginning." In this: That the political party in power in any State or Nation not only has the right to, and is charged with the duty of, but is justified in, adopting and enforcing such measures as in the candid judgement of that party are best calculated to protect, preserve and perpetuate its principles and policies in governmental affairs. Such rights inhere in and such duties devolve upon the party in power in peace and in war. The manner of exercising the right and of performing the duty, may be, and often are, criticised by the opposition; but both remain just the same. And in time of war, when the passions and prejudices of men are at flood tide, more drastic measures are employed than are expected or necessary in times of peace. War legislates.

Again, the axiom that "Self preservation is the first law of nature" applies with equal practical force to political parties and to individuals. Hence, the fact that the Democrats, being in full power and control in Missouri in 1862, and the Republicans, being in power in 1865, alike applied these principles to Missouri politics, is not strange; on the contrary, it would have been strange had either party failed to do so; and in the fading light of these later years who now has the right to say that, the times and circumstances considered, either of those conventions perpetrated a political wrong upon the people?

But conceding for the argument, if you please, that the Democrats in 1862 and that the Republicans in 1865, each in their turn, did in fact inflict a political injury upon certain of our fellow citizens; yet in the darkness of the decade from 1860 to 1870 there still stands out like a glorious beacon light on the hill top of the history of our State, one act of high courage and unselfish patriotism about which there can be no question; and that is that the Republican party of Missouri made no mistake when, in 1870, with a patriotic generosity for which in all history there was no Democratic precedent, it restored to ex-Confederate soldiers and their political allies all the rights of citizenship. Out of political power in Missouri for a third of a century, just as each Republican is casting his ballot then knew his party might be, yet the Republicans of this State have never regretted their wise, just and fair treatment of their political foes.

When to this splendid record of the Republican party in Missouri—now the fifth State in the Union, filled with a prosperous and happy people; with the wealth of the Indias in and beneath her soil; with a future that promises glory, peace and plenty—is added the glorious record of the Republican party in national affairs, to me it seems that a Missouri Republican, whether he voted for Lincoln and fought with Grant, or whether on the eve of casting his first ballot, may well stand up anywhere on God's green earth and with pride proclaim the fact that he is a Missouri Republican.

When the youth of Missouri shall study, know, understand and appreciate the true history of this State and of our common country leading up to and through the Big War; fully comprehend the then existing conditions and the motives and purposes of the men of Missouri in the troublous times from 1860 to 1870, then the wisdom and the patriotism of the men of that day will shine as clearly as the sweet sunlight of heaven at midday; sneers at their acts will give way to cheers, and their memories will be blessed, not cured.

Remember, young man of Missouri, that when the immortal Washington first unfurled the glorious stars and stripes—that banner which exquisite taste and loving patriotism combine to make the most beautiful in all the world—he said it should wave a thousand years; that that flag has now waved for more than a century and everywhere in beauty, strength and triumph; that if you and those who come after you shall be as true and do your duty to your State and country as wisely and as courageously as did the men of Missouri in that decade, 1860-1870, then Missouri will yet rank as the empire state of our Union; that standing shoulder to shoulder with other young men of the Nation in noble, manly effort to perpetuate the liberties which we now enjoy, will ensure to posterity all the blessings of free, enlightened and stable government; and that this done, the name of Missouri and of the government will endure and the flag of Washington will continue to wave as long as rivers flow out to the sea and old ocean lifts her waves to the storm; aye,

“Till the sun grows cold

And the stars are old,

And the leaves of the Judgment Book unfold.”

H. C. McDOUGAL.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has in the Sampson Collection a copy of the record of the above society:

ANNALS
of the
MISSOURI
HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL
SOCIETY.

No. 1.

Metropolitan Print, Jefferson City.
1848.

This pamphlet of twenty-nine pages is not common, and was not succeeded by any later number. The act of incorporation was passed by the general assembly and approved by the Governor, February 27, 1845. The trustees named in it were George W. Hough, William Claude Jones, William M. Campbell, James L. Minor, Hiram P. Goodrich, George W. Waters, John I. Campbell, John H. Watson, Adam B. Chambers, John McNeil, Samuel Treat, Robert I. Boas, Erich Plump, John G. Walker, George W. Huston, Hiram H. Baber, John C. Edwards, Benjamin F. Stringfellow, Bela M. Hughes, Trusten Polk, Robert Wilson, John D. Coalter, William Carson, George A. Carrel, Thomas G. Allen, William E. Elliott, William G. Minor, R. G. Smart, Mann Butler, S. H. Whipple, Robert T. Brown, and Harrison Hough. Two years afterwards the legislature assigned a room in the Capitol for the use of the Society, and appropriated ninety dollars to fit up the room for such use.

The introduction to the pamphlet rehearses the history of the Society. The following quotations are as applicable to

this Society today as they were to the other more than sixty years ago: "All editors and publishers of weekly newspapers and periodicals are solicited to present to the Society regular files thereof;" "the authors of all books, pamphlets and publications of every kind, are requested to donate a copy of the same for the use of the library;" "a copy of every book and pamphlet that was ever published in the State, is desired;—no publication should be considered too unimportant to enter into such a collection." "The Society also desires that the early and local history of the State may be written by persons competent to the task, and furnished for its use. The history of the early French and Spanish settlements at New Madrid, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, St. Charles, Portage des Sioux, Mine Breton, Cote sans Dessein, and other places would be interesting,—as would also an account of the emigration that came from New Orleans, Canada and elsewhere; and of the location and condition of the various Indian tribes when the first white settlements were made. Accounts of the early voyages, travels, trading expeditions, adventures, exploits and escapes of the early settlers, would be read with pleasure. Accurate details of the Indian wars, conflicts, alarms, and treaties, would form interesting chapters in the history of the state. A description and history of the various posts and forts that existed at early times, is desired. The biography of the pioneers.... would be a valuable addition to our history. The number and extent of the early French and Spanish settlements, and the date of their formation, should be ascertained and perpetuated in an authentic form. The history of the territory immediately before, at and after the treaty of cession, should be carefully written. The provincial form of government, the mode of granting lands, and laying out villages, and the system of government and police before the cession, are worthy of investigation. The biography of the prominent men who came into office when this territory was transferred to the Americans, should be preserved. The conduct, character and history of Stoddard, Clarke, Lucas, Penrose, Bates, McNair, Ashley, Hempstead, Easton, Gray, Callaway, Cooper, Cole and many others, should be written out. The events of the war of 1812

and the accompanying Indian troubles, the adventures of the ranging service, the border conflicts with the savages, such as those that occurred at Loutre, Cote sans Dessein and Chain of Rocks, ought to be minutely given as a part of the history of the country. The territorial history of the country deserves attention—the territorial legislation and executive and judicial action under all the successive forms and grades of government, will be interesting—the gradual progress from the civil to the common law should be traced out, and the men and measures of the territory properly described. Such men as Cousins, the Bartons and Rectors, Strother, Giddings, Emmons, McGirk, Tompkins, Pettibone are entitled to a place in our territorial history. The task of tracing the progress of settlement and improvement in each section of the State will be full of interest; and the early efforts at mining, smelting and manufacturing would not be devoid of interest. The history of the Regulators may receive a passing notice. The transition from the territorial into a State government—the formation and adoption of the State constitution—the conflicts of opinion that existed in the Convention—the anecdotes and incidents of its session and the circumstances that attended the admission of the State into the Union, and the organization of the State government, constitute an important chapter of our history. The early legislation of the State, the choice of officers, the selection of U. S. Senators, the constitutional amendments, the stop laws, and the loan office, are subjects worthy of notice.

The history of the early trade and commerce of the territory—the Indian trade—the navigation by perogues and keel boats—the changes effected by the introduction of steam boats—the system of barter and exchange—the peltry currency—the Bank of St. Louis, and the old Bank of Missouri, are subjects that could be properly woven into the history of the State. The origin, growth and progress of the Rocky Mountain and Santa Fe trade, are fair subjects for historical research. The foundation and progress of the various towns and cities of the State, are parts of our local history. Biographies of all our former Governors, Judges and prominent officials, are desired. All this mass of general and local history can easily be obtained, if

the persons who possess the information will take the trouble to write it down and furnish it to the Society, so that it may be arranged in proper form for publication. A large number of books, pamphlets, letters, manuscripts and files of newspapers are in the possession of individuals and are nearly useless to them, but if contributed to the Society they would form a valuable addition to its collection."

Had the Society survived to the present it might have accomplished many of these objects. How many of them are still neglected and passing into oblivion!

RECORD OF MEETINGS.

A meeting was held in the Senate chambers, December 18, 1844, for the purpose of forming the Society, George W. Hough being chairman and James L. Minor secretary and the meeting was addressed by the chairman, William M. Campbell, H. P. Goodrich, John I. Campbell and others, and at the same meeting a Constitution was adopted. The objects of the Society were declared to be "to collect, embody and preserve all papers, memorials and documents connected with the early history of Missouri, and all statistics in any way pertaining to the population, mineral, navigable and agricultural resources of the state; and the Society shall, from time to time, make such publication thereof as it may deem useful and interesting." The meetings were to be held in Jefferson City on the third Monday in January in each year. Publishers of books and pamphlets were invited to contribute their publications, and editors of newspapers and periodicals were asked to send their papers to be preserved by the Society. The annual fee of each member was fixed at one dollar.

A committee consisting of W. M. Campbell, Dr. H. P. Goodrich, George W. Waters, W. C. Jones, and A. B. Chambers, was appointed to memorialize the legislature for an act of incorporation.

The first annual meeting was held January 20, 1845, with George W. Hough, as president. The following officers were elected: President, William M. Campbell, of St. Louis; vice presidents, John C. Edwards, William G. Minor, Hiram P.

Goodrich, and Robert W. Wells, all of Cole County, John I. Campbell, of Marion County, Bela M. Hughes, of Platte County, Mann Butler, of St. Louis, and Wm. Claude Jones, of Newton County; secretary James L. Minor, of Cole County; and Treasurer, George W. Hough, of Cole County.

The following were elected honorary members: Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts; Albert Gallatin, of New York; Jared Sparks, of Massachusetts; P. A. Brown, of Philadelphia; Judge Hall, of Cincinnati; W. Gilmore Sims, of S. Carolina; Thos. Gilpin, of Phil., and Lewis Cass, of Michigan.

Resolutions were passed asking the members of the legislature to collect books, manuscripts, minerals and fossils from their counties; and the medical profession to prepare and donate skeletons of wild and domestic animals, for a museum of anatomy.

The second annual meeting was held January 10, 1846, and January 22 of the same year. The following officers were elected: President, William M. Campbell; vice presidents, John C. Edwards, Robert W. Wells, James L. Minor and William Z. Angney, of Cole county; James H. Relfe, of Washington county; John I. Campbell, of Marion county; Mann Butler, of St. Louis; and James Young, of Lafayette county; secretary, Falkland H. Martin; treasurer, George W. Hough; executive committee, Wm. G. Minor, John G. Walker and Enos B. Cordell. The executive committee was directed to make an effort with the general assembly to get suitable rooms and cases for the collections, and all editors and publishers were again requested to donate books and papers. Among the donations reported was one which would now be almost priceless—"an unbroken series of the Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives of Missouri, from the first session of the Legislature to the session of 1838-39, bound, presented by W. M. Campbell, of St. Louis." These volumes of the first ten regular general assemblies and of the special assemblies are probably in existence somewhere. Who has them?

A called meeting was held January 11, 1847, at which Mann Butler, of St. Louis, was to have delivered an address, but in

consequence of sickness, and of the difficulty of getting to Jefferson City it was not given.

The third annual meeting was held January 19, 1847. The following officers were elected: President, Wm. M. Campbell, of St. Louis; vice presidents, John C. Edwards, R. W. Wells, and J. L. Minor, of Cole county; S. D. Caruthers, of Madison county; J. H. Relfe, of Washington county; Mann Butler, of St. Louis; and James Young, of Lafayette county; secretary, Falkland H. Martin; treasurer, George W. Hough; executive committee, W. G. Minor, E. B. Cordell and E. L. Edwards. The legislature had given a room for the use of the Society, and the secretary was directed to move the collections of the Society to it. Mann Butler was requested to give the Society the manuscript of his intended address before the Society on the "Life and times of Gen. George Rogers Clark."

February 15, 1847, a meeting was held at which Dr. Mulloony gave an address on the "Destiny of America." Isaac W. Taylor and Willis L. Williams, of St. Louis, made excellent speeches in regard to the objects and purposes of the Society, and a copy of Dr. Mulloony's address was asked for publication.

The fourth annual meeting was held January 17, 1848, Hon. David Todd, of Boone county, acting as president. Two flags which had been carried in the Mexican war were presented to the Society. A committee consisting of F. H. Martin, of Jefferson City, S. T. Glover, of Marion county, Edward Bates, of St. Louis; D. C. Ballow, of Benton county; S. D. Caruthers, of Madison county; John F. Ryland, of Lafayette county; and W. G. Minor, of Jefferson City was appointed to present a petition to the next legislature asking for the State to provide for a geological survey of the State. The secretary made a full report of the year and this is given in full. The following officers were elected: President, William M. Campbell, of St. Louis; vice presidents, John C. Edwards, R. W. Wells, J. L. Minor, S. D. Caruthers, Edward Bates, S. T. Glover, M. M. Maughas, of Callaway county; and P. H. McBride, of Monroe county; secretary, Falkland H. Martin;

treasurer, George W. Hough; executive committee, W. G. Minor, E. B. Cordell, E. L. Edwards, F. A. Kounslar and W. B. Starke.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

The following was the list of members:

George W. Hough, James L. Minor, Hiram P. Goodrich, Erich Plump, John G. Walker, Statius Eggers, Enos B. Cordell, W. G. Minor, William Z. Angney, Robert Walker, R. W. Wells, E. L. Edwards, James Luck, Jason Harrison, D. J. Lisle, John C. Burch, F. Hereford, A. Kennedy, James B. McHenry, R. Winter, F. A. Kownslar, Jesse B. Baber, W. B. Starke, John S. McCracken, Ben F. Hickman and H. L. Boon, all of Cole county.

William Massillon Campbell, John H. Watson, A. B. Chambers, Samuel Trent, Willis L. Williams, Edmund Flag, Uriel Wright, A. W. Scharit, Isaac W. Taylor, Samuel Conway, J. B. Colt, G. H. C. Melody, Samuel H. Lowry, Bates and Robert Campbell, of the city of St. Louis.

George E. Pratt, John F. Stone, David M. Hickman, David Todd, James S. Rollins, and Wm. F. Switzler, of Boone county.

John I. Campbell, William Carson, Samuel T. Glover, and Carty Wells, of Marion county.

George W. Waters, Falkland H. Martin, and James L. Dunklin, of Jefferson county.

William B. Baskett, M. M. Maughas and Wm. H. Dyer, of Callaway county.

John Orrick and Andrew King, of St. Charles county.

Robert I. Boas and Thomas M. Horine, of Ste. Genevieve.

John A. Powell and Abiel Leonard of Howard county.

James Young and T. M. Ewing, of Lafayette county.

A. W. Reid and Priestly H. McBride, of Monroe county.

Harvey Wellman and William Priest, of Ralls county.

Thomas P. Rubey and Robert Wilson, of Randolph county.

James H. Relfe, Wm. A. Jones and G. Muldowny, of Washington county.

Dewitt C. Ballou, Benton county.

T. P. Bell, Cooper county.
 A. W. Daggett, Clark county.
 Kindred G. Pearson, Cedar county.
 Lisbon Applegate, Chariton county.
 Aaron Finch, Dade county.
 R. B. Ellis, Daviess county.
 Gideon P. Wyatt, Gasconade county.
 James Livingston, Grundy county.
 Stephen Cooper, Holt county.
 William Calhoun, Johnson county.
 M. L. Thomas, Lincoln county.
 E. M. C. Morelock, Linn county.
 W. Y. Slack, Livingston county.
 A. O. Forshey, Montgomery county.
 John H. Bean, Macon county.
 Sol. D. Caruthers, Madison county.
 John C. McCoy, Morgan county.
 Wm. Claude Jones, Newton county.
 John H. Walker, New Madrid county.
 James O. Broadhead, Pike county.
 Thomson Ward, Platte county.
 E. B. Ewing, Ray county.
 Wm. O. Applebee, Warren county.

MUSTER ROLL OF COMPANY B, FIRST MISSOURI
 CAVALRY, TRANS-MISSISSIPPI DEPART-
 MENT, C. S. A.*

J. A. Boarman, Captain, wounded at Newtonia, Mo., 1862. Discharged. Dead.	3d Lt. C. J. Lewis, Corder, Mo.
B. M. Neale, Captain, Greenfield, Mo.	Alstadt, Chas., dead.
1st Lt. J. B. Dysart, discharged; dead.	Agnew, A. W., Texas.
1st Lt. J. E. McDougal, dead.	Anderson, J. R., dead.
2d Lt. Wyatt Webb, Nevada, Mo.	Allison, Robert, dead.
3d Lt. Chas. O'Hara, killed 1863, Lafayette county, Mo.	Beck, W. S., Dover, Mo.
3d Lt. C. W. Neale, killed 1864, Union county, Arkansas.	Banks, John, dead.
	Banks, Sam, died in army, 1863.
	Burnham, A. C., dead.
	Bell, Rem., dead.
	Betts, unknown.
	Belt, John, dead.
	Belt, Thomas, dead.

*List furnished by John T. Warth, Nevada, Mo.

- Bickerstaff, Sam, dead.
 Buford, J. A., dead.
 Buford, William, dead.
 Burton, P. G., missing at Helena, Arkansas.
 Bonds, William, killed in 1863.
 Barnett, Robinson, dead.
 Barnett, Boyd, died in army, 1863.
 Barnett, John, dead.
 Barnett, James, dead.
 Caldwell, James, Odessa, Mo.
 Carney, William, unknown.
 Cross, William, unknown.
 Crow, James, unknown.
 Chinn, Joe, Lexington, Mo.
 Cochran, Lilburn, dead.
 Carter, Dr. R. C., Higginsville, Mo.
 Carter, William, Shelby county, Mo.
 Carter, Ed, Independence, Mo.
 Craig, William, unknown.
 Cooper, William, dead.
 Cather, James, dead.
 Duncan, Albert, Nevada, Mo.
 Dolan, Martin, unknown.
 Davis, N. S., dead.
 Darnall, James, killed at Newtonia, Mo.
 Dysart, William, Dover, Mo.
 Elliott, Columbus, killed at Cape Girardeau Mo.
 Edwards, Thomas, Oklahoma.
 Fox, Nelson, dead.
 Fox, Elias, dead.
 Fox, C. R., dead.
 Fox, John, Texas.
 Grindstaff, Julius, dead.
 Gaston, Isaac, unknown.
 Grigsby, Richard, dead.
 Grigsby, Wirten, Texas.
 Groves, L. W., dead.
 Groves, Thomas, Waverly, Mo.
 Groves, J. F., Corder, Mo.
 Garr, G. W., Lexington, Mo.
 Greene, George, Mayview, Mo.
 Greene, Russell, Higginsville, Mo.
 Gilliam, William, unknown.
 Howard, James, dead.
 Hill, Green, dead.
 Hinsen, Bush, dead.
 Keithley, G. A., unknown.
 Lay, Marion, dead.
 Love, Joe, dead.
 Lewis, B. M., Corder, Mo.
 Lewis, Jonas, Corder, Mo.
 Lewis, W. D., Kansas City, Mo.
 Long, Frank, dead.
 Mitchell, Charles, dead.
 Myers, Elias, dead.
 Meng, John, Lexington, Mo.
 McGentry, Pat, killed at Newtonia, Mo., 1862.
 McCausland, Ed, dead.
 McReynolds, Joe, Grand Pass, Mo.
 Murphy, Tim, dead.
 McFadden, Forch, Lexington, Mo.
 McQueen, Pen, Hardin, Mo.
 McQueen, George, dead.
 McDavitt, James, unknown.
 Ninemire, J. T., dead.
 Neale, Isaac, dead.
 Neale, David, dead.
 Neale, Lewis, dead.
 Neale, Samp, died in army in 1863.
 Neale, Joe, Higginsville, Mo.
 New, Lewis, dead.
 Oliver, John, dead.
 Oliver, W. G.
 Oliver, M. V. B., Dover, Mo.
 Persinger, At, Texas.
 Page, H. C., unknown.
 Page, John, dead.
 Page, A. J., Denver, Colo.
 Preston, William, dead.
 Plattenburg, J. Q., Lexington, Mo.
 Plattenburg, H. W., Dover, Mo.
 Rutledge, David, dead.
 Shaul, J. V., Bronaugh, Mo.
 Shaul, G. A., Bronaugh, Mo.
 Slusher, D. A., Lexington, Mo.
 Slusher, J. A., dead.
 Stark, Thomas, dead.
 Stark, Ed., Dover, Mo.
 Schooler, Cole, dead.
 Staley, Marion, unknown.
 Stelle, Charles, killed 1864, Union county, Arkansas.
 Thompson, John, Boonville, Mo.
 Thompson, Joe, Boonville, Mo.
 Ustick, Thomas, dead.
 Warren, J. B., dead.
 Winn, James, Dover, Mo.
 White, L. E., dead.
 White, Herbert, died in army in 1863.

White, Everett, Kansas.
Warth, S. V., Nevada, Mo.
Webb, T. V., Dover, Mo.
Webb, John G., dead.

Webb, James G., died in prison
1865.
Young, Evan, dead.
Young, T. C., dead.

NOTES.

Autograph Letters.

Prof. G. C. Broadhead has presented to the State Historical Society of Missouri a valuable collection of 139 autograph letters. It includes many of the prominent State Geologists of the different states and of foreign countries, and many well known scientists. There is also a large number of officials of Missouri and others, among the latter being letters from Presidents Grant and Roosevelt.

Grand Orator.

J. West Goodwin, the veteran editor, of Sedalia, one of the trustees of the State Historical Society of Missouri, was appointed Grand Orator of the Masonic Grand Lodge of the state of Missouri at the Grand Lodge annual meeting in October, 1908. The State Historical Society elected him an honorary member, December 14, 1908.

Cedar Rapids Libraries.

The "Occasional Bulletin" of the Iowa Masonic Library for October, 1908, issued by the most complete library of Masonic and kindred works, and books relative to secret societies has interesting accounts of that library and of other libraries of Cedar Rapids. There is perhaps not another city of its size that equals it in the number and character of the private libraries containing rare and interesting works.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Story of a Border City during the Civil War, by Galusha Anderson, LL. D., (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1908. 14 portraits and views, 12 mo. cl. \$1.50 net.)

The author of this work, former President of the University of Chicago, was the pastor of a prominent church in the city of Saint Louis from 1858 to 1866, and his personal observations made at that time throw a new light on one phase of the Civil War. During this period, the State of Missouri was disputed ground. Its citizens were divided between secession and the Union, between slavery and emancipation, and the battles fought within its limits were no less bitter, in that they were comparatively bloodless.

Saint Louis naturally bore the brunt of the struggle, and Dr. Anderson's account of the strenuous life there during the Rebellion opens up a comparatively unworked field. The work is colored by the introduction of many interesting personal experiences which befell Dr. Anderson as a staunch supporter of emancipation and an active worker against secession.

The Leader, by Mary Dillon, author of "The Rose of Old St. Louis" and "In Old Bellaire." Illustrated by Ruth M. Hallock. New York, Doubleday, Page & Company, 1907. (c. 1906.) 8 vo. 362 pp.

While the authoress is a native of Pennsylvania, she is a resident of St. Louis and is consequently in the list of Missouri authors. In an earlier work by her she made a claim for historical accuracy, but in this, while some of the story will remind the reader of actual events, the authoress disclaims any intention of recording any historical or biographical occurrences. She also disclaims having produced a "novel with a purpose," but simply tells the story of two lives very pleasantly, and to the edification of the reader.

NECROLOGY.

Gen. John Acoming Halderman died at Atlantic City September 21, 1908, seventy-two years of age, and was buried at Arlington cemetery, near Washington. He was born in Missouri but when young the family moved to Kansas, where he embraced the legal profession. He was mayor of Leavenworth, regent of the Kansas State University and served in both houses of the legislature. During the Civil War he was a member of the First Kansas infantry, holding positions from major to major-general. He was minister to Siam in 1880, and did effective and valuable service in that country.

William Maynard was born in London, England, March 9, 1830, and came to American when a boy. During the Civil War he served in a New York regiment. Afterwards he was editor of the Chariton County Union, the Warrenton Banner, and for thirty years editor and proprietor of the Moberly daily and weekly Headlight. He died at Moberly November 12, 1908.

Hon. J. O. Morrison was a member of Thirty-fifth General Assembly, 1889, from Pulaski county. During 1890, he moved to Vernon county to a farm near Walker, and eight years ago moved to Nevada. At the last election he was elected a member of the legislature from Vernon county, but on November 16, he died after an illness of eighteen months. He was born at Fountain Run, Kentucky, May 26, 1836, and came to Missouri in 1867.

Judge Jackson L. Smith was born in Callaway county, Missouri, January 31, 1837, attended the State University, and was admitted to the bar in 1860. In 1877 he was elected attorney general of the state, and served four years. In 1888 he was elected to the Kansas City Court of Appeals, and served sixteen years, the later years as presiding judge. He died at Kansas City November 13, 1908.









